

Hamadan, Persia

July 19th 1900

Mr. Robert E. Speer

Dear Sir:-

We the Jews & the Helms-Christians of Hamadan ask you the permission of informing you & through you the Presbyterian Board of the following

Since we are aware of the loving kindness of the Board toward us, & the care & attention shown us by the Board since late we are encouraged to make the following statements.

To the American Missionaries in general have been very kind to us since their coming to Hamadan, & in every possible way trying to do us good particularly St. Holmes to whom we are ever thankful for the love he has shown to our nation during the

few years of his stay in Semnadan; We desire
to express our regrets of the loss we feel from
his absence.

Dr. Holmes was very kind to us, & in
addition to the benefits which we receive
from him as a very skillful & trustworthy
physician, he once stood between us
& death when there was a riot in the city
& the Mohammedans were threatening
our pillage & massacre.

Last year on account of the
illness of his wife he was obliged to leave Sem-
adan; & now we hear that she has nearly
recovered her health.

If it is possible for Dr. Holmes
to come once more to Persia, we make
the request from you to ask him to do so
as by so doing we shall be much obliged
to you & ever remain prayerful for
your welfare.

In addition to the various benefits which we obtain from Dr. Holmes's coming to Hamadan, we hope that by his coming many of the misrepresentations which the true sect of Behayeser make of the religious talks which he has with them by the means of which they deceive many of our people might be corrected

Respectfully Yours.

(Signed)

הנחנו עתה יערוך המאמינים בארוננו ימוטיענו ישוע
 המשיח באים בבקשה לבע מעלתכם טקעורנו להוכיח
 לאור טעל כטוננו לשלוח לנו את זר נאמן דחבקר הולבון
 יזן להיוח לנו מורה זבך כמאז וכקדם טרה האוכה טלו
 הכז המעקרים כערכם עקרת המיים והטלס הגעך
 מחקס מיים טעור



the official seal of the Jewish
 community of Hamadan

Yakob R. Rafail.

Daniel E. Levi.

Handwritten signature in Hebrew, likely reading "Yakob R. Rafail".

Mansa E. Hajji Yaarb.

Two copies of the Complete Mass

as in the top drawer of

the brown filing cabinet in room

Dr. Johnson

RECEIVED

8/19/12

The Relation of Bahaism to Christian Missions.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss merely work for Bahais but also to point out the significance of Bahaism in its doctrine and teaching as an expression of Persian thought and the bearing of its methods as an illustration of the Persian genius for propaganda in relation to our own effort to win the whole Persian people for Jesus Christ.

We will consider the subject therefore under three heads:

- I. Bahai Controversy, per se.
- II. The Inner Significance of Bahaism, i.e. its teaching and doctrine as an expression of Persian philosophical tendencies.
- III. The Bahai propaganda.

Before taking up these topics however we must say a word as to preparation and general attitude.

For preparation nothing can replace actual contact. Our attitude should not at first be controversial. We must be willing to listen that we may learn ~~and understand~~ the Bahai's hopes and ideals and reasons for accepting his new faith as well as the arguments by which he supports it. At the same time we should check up his statements and ideas by a study of the literature for few Bahais have deep or thorough knowledge of their own literature. In fact, it is probably easier for us to make a comprehensive study of the subject that for them.

As to literature, Dr. Speer's article on the Religion of the Bab in Missions and Modern History is the best resumé of the subject in all its aspects but for careful and thorough study we must turn to Prof. Brown's writing. His two articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. for July and Oct., 1889 are the best introduction to the subject. (1) The notes and appendices to his translations of Abbas Effendi's Traveller's Narrative in illustration of the Episode of the Bab and the New History of the Bab are our most critical and valuable source of information. The translations themselves are of less value although the New History gives a good view of the early ideals as well as heroism of Babism. For the historical antitypes of the sect one should consult (by means of the index) Brown's Literary History of Persia.

- 1. As these numbers are quite expensive it may be of interest to note that they are to be found in the station library in Teheran while the writer will be glad to loan his copies.

Of Bahai books, the Ighan gives the foundations of their system of evidences. It is a rescension of an earlier work "The Seven Proofs and was written by Baha'ullah shortly before his claim to divine inspiration. It can be obtained in Persian, English or French but Mirza Abd'ul Fazl's Proofs of Baha (English) is more systematic and more recent.

Unfortunately

The *Agdas* exists only in Arabic. In Persia certain table talks known as "Anvár'ul Abhá Fi Mufavvazat Abd'li Baha" (commonly called Mufavvazat in Persia and "Some answered questions" in English) has a wide circulation and ~~is frequently brought to our attention.~~ ~~Those wishing to read it in Persia will find the style good and the vocabulary helpful in subsequent dealings with Bahá'is.~~

~~Phelps' Abbass Effendi's life and teaching is the best systematic effort to set forth Bahá'í doctrine but his conclusions although in harmony with Bahá'ullah's earlier writings are not current in Persia.~~ The "Splendour of God" (Wisdom of the Báb) (part seven) gives excerpts from Bahá'ullah's writing setting forth most distinctly his claim to divinity and the pantheistic tendencies of his doctrine (which last Persian Bahá'is ~~still~~ after him).

It is so true to say that our general attitude should be one of sympathy that the term has come to have little significance to us. It is however the chief factor I believe in Bahá'í success. We as foreigners however must go further than mere sympathy and express this sympathy as well as our specific arguments in terms that will penetrate the Persian consciousness. We must even change our usual arguments to others which Persians will consider logical. For this reason in the following *discussion* we ~~deal~~ deal upon lines of thought and argument which we have found prevalent among Persian Bahá'is and ignore to a certain extent others which are more prevalent among Europeans. The Bahá'í for instance will seldom be willing to make formal comparisons between the Gospel and the Koran until you have clearly demonstrated to him that Mohammed did not fulfil the "signs" which Jesus said would attend his own return.

With this explanation of our attitude let us consider

I Bahá'í Controversy.

In the Kitab-al-*Agdas* Bahá'is are instructed to associate with all religions and all sects. A few years ago therefore they were very anxious to meet missionaries in open controversy and often brought their inquirers to witness their controversial covers. The missionaries also in many cases welcomed such opportunity hoping that Bahá'is might prove a stepping stone to Christianity. Both sides were disappointed. The Bahá'is have almost entirely abandoned the open controversial method and as a rule have as little to do with missionaries as possible. It must not be inferred however that we need pay no further attention to them. Any one who is at all familiar with the subject finds that he is confronted on every hand with Bahá'í arguments and ideas. Bahá'í thought extends further than the actual numbers of Bahá'is would indicate. Thus during our *trip* to *Khorasan* last year the writer's companion was asked one day in the bazaar of a city in which there were supposed to be out two or three Bahá'is to give an explanation of the 12th Chapter of Revelations. On another occasion during a noonday halt a dervish began in our presence to give Bahá'í interpretations of the scriptures and wished us to pick it up. Inquiries

Probably
L. B. White
1912

and chance acquaintances frequently have questions based upon Bahá'í arguments which they would settled if a man who professes to be an impartial investigator soon shows himself by his questions and line of discussion a Bahá'í disciple himself. For these and other reasons we cannot hope to entirely avoid Bahá'í controversy and should be prepared for every contingency.

Nor is it to be supposed that our Bahá'í opponent is going to play the game fairly as we understand it. Insinuation, sarcasm, and open ridicule are freely used upon occasion. Not long ago a Persian found the writer reading the Bible. A number being present he began in a very superior way to ridicule us saying, "You who are modern in your medicine, language and clothes ought to be ashamed to read such an old book. You should be modern in your religion also." Aside from his sarcasm however there is in this statement an underlying idea which seems to have real evidential value to many Persians and is often advanced by them. The idea of a perfect, final religion is entirely foreign to them. Nothing does not claim it for itself. Each faith is suited for the times and places in which it was given. This attitude is found among all classes but perhaps most frequently among Jews who say, "We have come as far as Jesus but are not certain about what comes after him."

Another trick commonly taken is to point out the failure of Christianity to fulfill the prophecies of the Old Testament, especially the one; "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, etc." If Christ fulfilled this prophecy why all these wars and wars among Christian nations?

Their favorite practice however is to try to prove directly from the Old and New Testaments that Mohá'ád and Bahá'uláh are the fulfillment of prophecy. The oldest and best elaborated bit of exegesis dates from the time of the Bab himself and is fully worked out in the Ighan (pp. 24-56). It is an interpretation of Matt. 24 of which we can only give the briefest summary suggestion. It is assumed that an age is the cycle of a prophet's influence; that the sun and the moon are the prophet and his immediate successor; the stars are the ulama and theologians. As the years pass the light of a manifestation grows dim, the life falls from their high estate and a new manifestation appears. This is the true resurrection. The old heavens and earth pass away while new ones take their place.

A great deal of attention is given to the fifteen and sixteen chapters of John and the prophecy of Daniel and Revelation. Assuming in the case of the last two that a year "day" in prophecy means a year the Bahá'ís try to connect the indications of time in these prophecies with the Bahá'í era. Their basis is an unwarranted application of a few words in Ez. 4, 6 which the ordinary Bahá'í confesses does not apply. He is so ignorant of the Bible however that he believes there must be other passages which we conceal from him in support of his theory. Not only is their use so weak but in the application of the interpretation they do not agree among the selves. Some reckon as the time of the cessation of the conventional print ordering the private enunciation of his Mission by Mohá'ád, at the capture of Jerusalem by Omar. The first reckoning the terms of the period to be Bahá'uláh's private call about 1862, the latter his visit to Mt. Carmel in 1868. So others they reckon some years, so others, lunar.

It is so easy to refute such illogical and self-con-

contradictory arguments but it is not a question (with a people leading entirely in historical and critical acumen) of what is said but how a thing is said,—how positively and how often repeated. In handling these prophecies, for instance, most of us are handicapped by our knowledge of the difficulties attending the attempt to interpret all of them and our desire to be fair to those who have reached a different conclusion than ourselves. These considerations seldom hinder a Baháí worker and his intimate connection with the life and thought and prejudices of the people give him an immense advantage.

Thus the current Baháí interpretations of the 11th and 12th chapters of Revelations appeal to all the prejudices of the Shia heart. In the 11th chapter, the two witnesses are Mohamed and Ali; in the 12th chapter, the woman is Islam (i.e. Shia or true Islam) the child is Muhammad, the sun is Persia (the lion and sun), the moon is Turkey, the stars are the twelve Imams, the opposing beasts are the first three Khalifs. The exposition is often finally cinched to the Baháí mind by trying to identify 666 with Osman according to the abjad system although this involves the addition of an extra letter.

Here again we are apt to fail to appreciate the force of the argument from their standpoint. Their whole calendar and many other of their laws and customs are founded or at least supported on just such numerical identification. Thus nine and nineteen constantly occur in their local and ritual systems. Nine is the sum of the letters of Baha plus an "Alif" which represents the unknowable divine unity; nineteen (even more sacred) is the sum of the letters "Vahid" (unity) and "Vajud" (essence, the sum of an "Alif" and a "Hayy" (living), the number of letters in "Bismillah-rahman er-Rahim, etc. In view of these sentiments, the writer has more than once found it most effective to point out that 666 is the sum of the letters in Nero Kaisar both in the Hebrew and Arabic ~~xxxx~~ alphabet and of Latinus in the Greek.

As a rule it is useless to attempt any systematic exposition of the prophecies with a Baháí but nevertheless it would be well for each one of us to carefully consider our own ideas on the questions involved and be as sure of ourselves as possible. Even more important perhaps is a united study of the question with Persian Christians and inquirers in order that they may appreciate the weakness of their opponents contentions and be united in their methods of reply. Our general attitude should be that it is not our duty to interpret these prophecies as a rebuttal of Baháism but that the Baháís must show that Baha'ism fulfilled all the statement of the New Testament. Although he may seem to fulfill a hundred passages a single verse which contradicts his claim is enough to overthrow the whole chain of evidence. A quiet insistence upon the significance of such verses as "Salvation is from the Jews", "This Jesus who was received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld them going into heaven." or "If any man preach unto you any gospel other than that which ye received let him be anathema" is often very effective.

This whole question of Baháí exercises will often try our patience. It is well *therefore* to remember a warning of Dr. Holmes. He says, "The traditional methods of exercises as employed by many of our helpers, simply plays into the hands of the Baháís.*****"

If we are at liberty to interpret the Scriptures literally when it suits the convenience of our argument to do so, or figuratively at will, regardless of context or historical setting or perspective, then we are compelled to allow them the same liberty: and they can ~~xxx~~ easily discount us in such a contest, since they know nothing of history and care less, and they have a facility in making a fanciful interpretation on the numerical value of a letter or name, or on an assumed grammatical relation of the different parts of a verse or sentence, to which a western expert in exegesis could never hope to attain.

"The missionary who is called upon to make apologetic statements of Christianity to Bahais must make sure that he himself knows what Christianity is. He must have seen with his own eyes, and have heard with his own ears Him of whom he speaks. **In this kind of controversy it is necessary that one should see, not alone for one's self but for one's opponent also, if he is to be convinced.**" When the reciprocal vision is exercised one will often find that what he thought to be rock in his own foundation is just what the other has seen it to be, a mere bed of sand. Much of the current literal and figurative interpretation of prophecy are as beautiful and in such a discussion as unsubstantial as the rainbow. The undoubted value to the Christian of such interpretation as aids to faith and for edification rest upon another basis."

Next most frequently after the exegetical method which we have just considered the Bahai attempts to establish his argument by assuming the necessity of a "Teacher" or "Succession of Teachers" to the Created. They further assume certain "orders" or such teachers which are commonly stated as follows:

1. He must claim to come from God,
2. He must bring a new doctrine,
3. His word must ~~xxxxxx~~ have power,
4. His word must remain.

In answer to the whole line of argument the writer has found it most effective to point out that just about the same time that the Bab appeared in Persia (a woman (Mrs. Eddy) arose in America who fulfilled all these conditions, i.e. she claims to bring a new revelation from God, containing a new doctrine, she has up to the present probably many converts as Bahais (250,000 in America alone) that her doctrine has spread beyond her own country and that it has remained as long as Bahaiism has". References to Mormonism, the Millerites, Davidism and "The Holy Ghost and Us Society" are also of value.

The Bahais say their new doctrine is the "School of Man". To us this seems sufficiently contained in the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God but the Bahais points to the factions and divisions of Christendom, the heavy arguments and frequent wars. We may adopt an "Et tu" attitude pointing out the division of Bahaiism but it will not be very effective.

The "power" to which the Bahai refers in the third point is not the power to transform lives but the power to win followers. Any one who has come in contact with Bahaiism knows that apologetic emphasis is laid upon the supposedly rapid spread of Bahaiism and the extent to which it has attracted attention. Occasionally we ~~may~~ find a man who will believe our statements as to the true extent of Bahaiism in America, ~~and~~ but ordinarily he remains on the same kind of

Our opponent seldom if ever voluntarily argues from a philosophical or metaphysical standpoint. Nor will he admit as valid a comparison on the basis of reason of the Gospel, Koran and Agdas as to internal evidences of divine origin or general suitability to the needs of men. His idea of God permits a purely arbitrary conception of revelation which may be changed at will by the Divine Essence. Moreover he is as a rule very ignorant of the fundamental ideas of his own or any other faith. The attempts at systematic presentation of Bahaiism issued in America when brought to the attention of a Persian Bahai generally lead to a flat denial that this is a true picture of Bahaiism and many will say that if such is the case they reject the faith. With a thoughtful or sincere man and there are such to be found - a discussion of the philosophical and moral aspects of religion is sometimes of value.

(Time)

Space prevents a careful consideration of Bahaiism ⁱⁿ relation to Islam but we cannot afford to ignore it. If we can overthrow the Bahai faith in Mohamamad we cut off his own support. Even without attacking Islam there are occasions when it is of use to be thoroughly acquainted with the inconsistencies between Islam and Bahaiism. A voluminous work has been prepared by Mirza Agha Taghi of Hamadan in answer to Bahaiism but the ~~volume~~ is too uncritical to be of value. A little tract prepared in Resht seems more cogent. The Bahais attack the absurdity of popular conceptions of many traditions but vary greatly in their attitude to the faith itself. Thus one will admit that Islam merely benefited the Arabs and was not a universal religion; another clings to the idea that the death of Hossein was an atoning value parrallel to the death of Jesus. It is easy however to turn their own methods of handling the traditions against them with effect and often their assertion of the divinity of Baha'ullah runs directly counter to the Koranic verse, "He neither begets nor is he begotten."

With careful preparation we need not fear to meet any Bahai in argument but we need something more than this if we are going to win his ~~allegiance~~. We must have his confidence. It is wonderful the absolute faith the ordinary Bahai places in his teacher. Even when he admits the unreliability of such a man in other departments of life he still clings to him as a religious guide. Our first step must be to win a like confidence in ourselves that he may be led to listen to the arguments and proofs which we can bring from history and science against the claims of Baha'ullah.

Even after we have won his confidence we must find the means of gaining his attention. He is so sure of himself, so eager to persuade us that he does not really listen to what we say. ~~When~~ One missionary says, "When a Bahai wishes to argue with me I refuse. I say, 'You are a man and I am a man. We are both sinners. What are you going to do about it?'" Such a statement as this or a sharp criticism of Bahai morality or a simple statement of our own Christian experience and ~~the~~ power over sin may be effective. Our discussion then passes from the realm of controversy but in order to make it effective we must ^{understand} the longings of and the methods of approach to the Bahai heart which we ~~will~~ ^{will} now try to set forth briefly.

II The Inner Significance of Bahaism.

Bahaism is a renewed expression of an inner longing which seems to have pervaded Persian thought for long centuries, the longing for actual contact with a Divine Being. Orthodox Islam failed entirely to satisfy this desire. Shia Islam, with its practical duplication of Ali and his family was only partially successful. It may be said that probably a majority of the Persians are dissatisfied from strict Shiasm. Some of them seek through Sufism to lift themselves up into the Divine Essence; others through a long line of sects of which the Ali Allahis and the Bahais are recent and familiar examples endeavor to bring the Divine Essence down into human form.

It is a mistake to suppose that Bahaism is in any sense a new development. We can trace many of its peculiar ideas even though they are somewhat obscured in its more recent teaching through the Muslimezeh, the Bahai, the Ismailis and Assassins. Not only does it resemble them in its Anthropomorphism, its doctrine of Return and less distinctly Metempsychosis but also in its methods of propaganda and many peculiar customs in the use of colors and numbers.

All these sects agree in the manifestation of the Divine will in human form. To be sure the Bahais reject the Christian idea of Incarnation comparing their Manifestation to a mirror which reflects the sun without partaking of its nature. They call him a Perfect Man but Baha'ullah himself announces "There is no God but He! O ye my creatures! Worship Me!" (Words of Paradise)

In the Ignor he also says (The tears p. 69, 70.)

"All the prophets, successors, divines, sages and wise men confess their lack of attainment to the knowledge of the Essence of Essences and admit their inability to know and comprehend that Truth of Truths. **There for He caused brilliant Essences of Sanctity to appear from the Holy World of Spirit in which human temples. **These Mirrors of Sanctity and Dawning-places of Divinity fully express the Sun of Existence and Essence of Desire. How infinite stands their knowledge expresses His knowledge, their beauty His Beauty, their Dominion His Dominion, their Beauty His Beauty and their Manifestation His Manifestation. They are the treasures of Supreme Knowledge, stores of Eternal Wisdom, revelations of Infinite Bounty, Dawning-places of that Sun of Eternity. Therefore it is said: 'There is no difference between thee and them except that they are Thy servants and Thy Creatures.' This is the station of 'I am He and He is me.'"

It is evident therefore that in dealing with Bahais as well as Sufis and Ali Allahis our difficulty is not to recognize the Divinity of Jesus Christ but to show that therein this Divinity was peculiar to Him.

Closely connected with this idea of Divinity is that of "Return". This too appears in Sufism in the expectation of the return of Christ and the Mahdi. The Bab's highest claim was that he was the Mahdi. Some of his followers called themselves Ali, Hussein, etc. Baha'ullah also in some of his earlier writings (Layih-i-Bahai, J. P. A. S., Oct. 89 p. 252) identifies himself with the Bab and speaks of the latter's execution as a personal ex-

ardence in the Arabic language;" the suspended glorious body in the air, and wounded it with the bullets of justice and hatred, until its spirit returned to the Supreme to which its gaze on the most precious garment. And not one reflected wherefore it was that I received this injury from my servants, for, had they reflected, they would not have remained veiled from my Beauty in my second manifestation." Again he says: "In the Bazaar I astonished all in the language of power." Many writers ~~have~~ and some Persian Bahais seem to state that Abbas Effendi is a reflection of Jesus Christ.

The Bahai explanation of the doctrine as now given, in light of the evident application of the above passage, is that they only believe in a return of kind. Such and such a man above the powers and qualities of Ali, for instance. They also state ~~that~~ that the same spirit which was in for an incarnation is present in the latest Manifestation although the person is different. ~~But~~ Abbas Effendi's reserve ^{arise} to Christ does not arise upon his "death," then upon an eternal connection with Jesus of Nazareth.

The Bahai teaching in regard to the after life is confessedly. Among the early tales of Babis collected in Mirza Jani's History is one of a Babi preacher who told his listeners that a dog whose howling they heard was a reincarnation of a holy man who had recently died. As a rule however the Bahais deny metaphysics. Sometimes there is an effort to parallel the dissipation of the body with ~~the~~ ^{of the Spirit} dissipation. Factors who desire to have Abbas Effendi's authority for the body of teaching which he has collected ^{says} that the world of Spirit which is an emanation from the Divine Essence reacts upon the world of Matter which is a derivative ^{of} the Divine Essence to ~~the~~ ^{successive} stages of self-consciousness and activity which, progressing through stages of development finally attain the highest form which is man. Man is given a ray (soul) direct from the Divine Essence which enable him to unite (if he strive) with that Essence. If he fails his spirit is radiated ~~when~~ in the world of spirit leaving upon it certain impression which tend to reappear in the same combination whenever a suitable material world is found. Barney also claiming the authority of Abbas Effendi states that spirits of men persist after the death of the body in a state of perfection. Their degree in this cycle depends upon the goodness they have done in this life. In the Seven Valleys, Bahai'ish teaches that the soul progresses through seven stages, the final one of which is "absolute sovereignty and annihilation." Although Skrine says "this goal does not imply a leaving of his personality into the Absolute; it is a stepping stone to higher stages of consciousness of which we can have no conception", the Bahais used implies absorption.

The Persian Bahai generally ~~views~~ ^{views} a position in a life after death, the nature of which we do not know but in which ~~we~~ ^{we} will be degrees depending upon ~~our~~ ^{our} conduct in the world. It is however too vague a thought to exert influence and abilities to its fullness or indeed him to be led to the ~~goal~~ ^{goal} of his master the way of salvation or progress according to Bahai'ish rests upon obedience to the commands ^{for man} Bahais seem to claim it depends rather upon their service to the Manifestation of the Age. They

have apparently abandon^{ed} the Moslem excessively legal code of "Torah" of merit ^{and} there is a faint trace of an atonement idea. A younger son of Bahá'í lay waste walking on the roof for meditation and prayer till through the roof and died some thirty hours afterward. Later Bahá'í said to the father "Your son has been taken by God but his people might be freed. His life was the ransom and you should rejoice that you had a son so dear to give us ~~maxims~~ to give to the cause of God." The freedom mentioned seems here even to have been freedom from association rather than involving any freedom from sin or reconciliation with God. To the Bahá'í God is absolutely unapproachable. "No relation, connection, association, union, nearness, remoteness, position or resemblance is possible between Him and the contingent beings." (I Bahá, ch. 2, p. 6)

The specific laws and customs of the Bahá'ís do not concern us here except to note that while moral precepts are really given in the Bahá'í writings the commands concerning which one hears the most are those a solemnly stated list of prayers, fasts, marriage and divorce, laws of inheritance, a permanent organization (i.e. the House of Justice) etc showing that Bahá'í aims at universal as well as a spiritual autonomy.

We can not dwell further upon Bahá'í doctrine and philosophy. Enough has been said to show that we must carefully consider our method of approaching our study of the incarnation, of sin and atonement, man's possible relationship with God, and the future life. When our of certain possibilities in language our ideas on these topics will be challenged at every step by the Bahá'í. This contradiction between our old and new ideas makes it very difficult to see how Bahá'í doctrine in tradition one who has been a student with Bahá'í has come out but once we have been able to clearly explain the Christian doctrine we find it has a strange appeal for many.

III Bahá'í Propaganda.

Here too we find no new phenomena beyond the fact of communication afforded by the steam, electricity and the press. Prof. Brown's description of an Islamic propagandist (Lit. Hist. of Persia Vol. 1, 411.) closely fits the Bahá'í teacher. He says; "The type of this characteristic Persian figure seems scarcely to have varied from the time of Abu 'Isa, till the present day, when the Da'í of the Bahá'í goes forth on his perilous missions between Persia, his native land, and Syria where his spiritual leader dwelt in exile." "The da'í commonly adopted some ostensible profession, such as that of merchant, physician, oculist or the like and, in this guise, arrived at the place where he proceeded to begin operations. In the first instance his aim was to increase his acquaintance with a large class of his flock and benevolence. To this end he was constant in his praying and fasting, until he had established a high reputation for devout living, and had gathered around him a circle of admirers. To these, especially to such as possessed most apt to receive them, he began gradually and cautiously to propound his doctrines, striving especially to arouse the curiosity of his hearers, to awaken in them a spirit of inquiry and to impress them with a high opinion of his mission. He then appeared at

the contribution of funds to keep in building a place of worship in America, the origin of Americans to hold in Persia, the frequent transfers of workers Persian and American from one country to another, the big differences to Asia, the publications of a newspaper in Persian and English, the use of the press at home are all familiar too us. In our own our best aid at helping one another more, in bringing assistance to bear in opportune moments and places and by trying to make the Persians feel the continuity and forward movement ~~possibility~~ of Christianity not only in Persia but also in the whole world. We can also do this by a more thorough distribution of our fields and a careful study of various forms of cooperation. Especially I suggest a bureau or directorate of some kind as to available workers and the needs of a social field.

A third factor is personal work. We have already described the typical Bahai propagandist. He does not hold public or formal meetings or preaching services. He has some business through which he gets into contact with people and thus gradually draws on and instructs the more receptive ones. Once they have made fair amount progress to be trusted he introduces them to a "shah nishani" where they are brought into contact with other inquirers. Great emphasis is laid upon instruction especially in the legal side of the faith and in polemic so that the inquirer is soon ready to enter into controversy and is well qualified to induce others into the initial steps of belief. There is nothing unusual in this method except its adaptation to local conditions. It is the same that has been used in Korea, Manchuria and many other fields of Christian work.

The most noticeable local feature is the use of the "shah nishani" or the custom the Persians have of sitting together night after night in various social meetings. In some places these gatherings are largely literary in character; in others as in Rasht the purpose is too often drinking and eating. The Bahais have run these meetings with great effectiveness. After sitting up until two or three hours after dark the host often serves dinner to some or all of the company and generally a few remain until morning. There is no reason why we should not avail ourselves of this custom, out of course it is impossible for most of us to sit up until eleven, twelve or one o'clock night after night and then get up in time to run a library or school the next morning. There ought to be some one in the station free from other work to handle this social and personal work.

IV Conclusion.

In conclusion may I sum up my suggestions in a few words. Our first step should be to seek to become more thoroughly imbued with Persian ways of thought and to get into closer contact with Bahais by adapting ourselves as far as possible to local customs and conditions. Especially we I think we can make a better use of the "shah nishani."

I would emphasize also the need of more systematic instruction of inquirers and recent converts not merely in doctrine but also in apologetic and controversy. While we are busy trying to get a man to appreciate some of the fundamentals of faith in busy over-throwing his faith in the truth of Christianity ~~by~~ by the arguments we have already outlined. We have also been cri-

Who wrote this paper? I thought I was Dr.
Helmich but the reference at bottom of page 4
disproves this. I cannot guess who it could
have been - but Patten or Grant or Eastman or
Shedd. Dr. Wilson seems likely but I don't think
to send into Khosroo.

J. Rowland

to preserve here in the text his paper on "The Relation of Bahaism to Christian Missions", which no one but he could have written:

The Relation of Bahaism to Christian Missions.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss merely work for Bahais but also to point out the significance of Bahaism in its doctrine and teaching as an expression of Persian thought and the bearing of its methods as an illustration of the Persian genius for propaganda in relation to our own effort to win the whole Persian people for Jesus Christ.

We will consider the subject therefore under three heads:

I. Bahai Controversy, per se.

II. The Inner Significance of Bahaism, i.e., its teaching and doctrine as an expression of Persian philosophical tendencies.

III. The Bahai propaganda.

Before taking up these topics, however, we must say a word as to preparation and general attitude.

For preparation nothing can replace actual contact. Our attitude should not at first be controversial. We must be willing to listen that

we may learn the Bahai's hopes and ideals and reasons for accepting his new faith as well as the arguments by which he supports it. At the same time we should check up his statements and ideas by a study of the literature for few Bahais have deep or thorough knowledge of their own literature. In fact, it is probably easier for us to make a comprehensive study of the subject than for them.

"As to literature, Dr. Speer's article on the Religion of the Bab in "Missions and Modern History" is the best resume of the subject in all its aspects but for careful and thorough study we must turn to Professor Browne's writing. His two articles in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" for July and October, 1889, are the best introduction to the subject. ~~As these numbers are quite expensive it may be of interest to note that they are to be found in the station library in Teheran while the writer will be glad to loan his copies.~~ The notes and appendices to his translations of Abbas Effendi's "Traveller's Narrative" in illustration of the Episode of the Bab and the "New History of the Bab" are our most critical and valuable source of information. The translations themselves are of less value although the "New History" gives a good view of the early ideals as well as heroism of Babism. For the historical antitypes of the sect one should consult (by means of the index) Browne's "Literary History of Persia."

Of Bahai books, the Ighan gives the foundation of their system of evidences. It is a rescension of an earlier work, "The Seven Proofs", and was written by Baha'ullah shortly before his claim to divine inspiration. It can be obtained in Persian, English or French, but Mirza Abd'ul Fazl's "Proofs of Baha" (English) is more systematic and more recent. Unfortunately the Agdas exists only in Arabic. In Persia certain table talks known as

"Annur'ul Abha fi Mufavazat Abd'il Baha" (commonly called Mufavazat in Persia and "Some Answered questions" in English) has a wide circulation and is frequently brought to our attention. Those wishing to read it in Persia[~] will find the style good and the vocabulary helpful in subsequent dealings with Bahais. Phelps's[✓] Abbas Effendi: His Life and Teaching["] is the most systematic effort to set forth Bahai doctrine, but his conclusions, although in harmony with Baha^Ullah's earlier writings, are not current in Persia. The "Splendour of God" (Wisdom of the East series) gives excerpts from Baha^Ullah's writing setting forth most distinctly his claim to divinity and the pantheistic tendencies of his doctrine (which last Persian Bahais often deny).

It is so trite to say that our general attitude should be one of sympathy that the term has come to have little significance to us. It is, however, the chief factor I believe in Bahai success. We as foreigners, however, must go further than mere sympathy and express this sympathy, as well as our specific arguments, in terms that will penetrate the Persian consciousness. We must even change our usual arguments to others which Persians will consider logical. For this reason, in the following discussion we dwell upon lines of thought and argument which we have found prevalent among Persian Bahais and ignore to a certain extent others which are more prevalent among Europeans. The Bahai^{||} for instance will seldom be willing to make moral comparisons between the Gospel and the Koran until you have clearly demonstrated to him that Mohammed did not fulfil the "signs" which Jesus said would attend his own return.

With this explanation of our attitude let us consider

I. Bahai Controversy.

"In the "Kitab-ol-Agdas" Bahais are instructed to associate with all religions and all sects. A few years ago, therefore, they were very anxious to meet missionaries in open controversy and often brought their inquirers to witness their controversial powers. Missionaries also in many cases welcomed such opportunity hoping that Bahaiism might prove a stepping stone to Christianity. Both sides were disappointed. The Bahais have almost entirely abandoned the open controversial method and as a rule have as little to do with missionaries as possible. It must not be inferred however, that we need pay no further attention to them. Any one who is at all familiar with the subject finds that he is confronted on every hand with Bahai~~h~~ arguments and ideas. Bahai thought extends further than the actual numbers of Bahais would indicate. Thus during ^aour trip to Khorasan last year the writer's companion was asked one day in the bazaar of a city in which there were supposed to be but two or three Bahais to give an explanation of the 12th Chapter of Revelations. On another occasion during a noonday halt a dervish began in our presence to give Bahai interpretations of the Scriptures and wished us to back him up. Inquirers and chance acquaintances frequently have questions based upon Bahai arguments which they wished settled or a man who pretends to be an impartial investigator soon shows himself by his questions and line of discussion a Bahai. For these and other reasons we cannot hope to entirely avoid Bahai controversy and should be prepared for each contingency.

Nor is it to be supposed that our Bahai opponent is going to play the game fairly as we understand it. Insinuation, sarcasm, and open ridicule are freely used upon occasion. Not long ago a Persian

found the writer reading the Bible. A number being present he began in a very superior way to ridicule us saying, "You who are modern in your medicine, language and clothes ought to be ashamed to read such and old book. You should be modern in your religion also." Aside from his sarcasm, however, there is in this statement an underlying idea which seems to have real evidential value to many Persians and is often advanced by them. The idea of a perfect, final religion is entirely foreign to them. Bahaism does not claim it for itself. Each faith is suited for the times and place in which it was given. This attitude is found among all classes but perhaps most frequently among Jews who say, "We have come as far as Jesus but are not certain about what comes after Him."

//Another tack commonly taken is to point out the failure of Christianity to fulfil the prophecies of the Old Testament, especially the one: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, etc." If Christ fulfilled this prophecy why all these armies and wars among Christian nations?

//Their favorite practice, however, is to try to prove directly from the Old and New Testaments that Mohammed and Bahaullah are the fulfillment of prophecy. The oldest and best elaborated bit of exegesis dates from the time of Bab himself and is fully worked out in the Ighan (pp. 22-56). It is an interpretation of Matthew 24 of which we can only give the briefest suggestion. It is assumed that an age is the cycle of a prophet's influence; that the sun and the moon are the prophet, and his immediate successor; the stars are the ulema and theologians. As the years pass the light of a manifestation grows dim, the ulema fall from their high estate and a new manifestation appears. This is the true resurrection. The old heavens and earth pass away while new ones take their places.

✱ A great deal of attention is given to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of John and the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. Assuming in the case of the last two that a "day" in prophecy means a year the Bahais try to connect the indications of time in these prophecies with the Bahai era. Their basis is an unwarranted application of a few words in Ezekiel 4:6 which the ordinary Bahai confesses does not apply. He is so ignorant of the Bible, however, that he believes there must be other passages which we conceal from him in support of his theory. Not only is their premise weak but in the application of the interpretation they do not agree among themselves. Some reckon as the time of the cessation of the continual burnt offering the private enunciation of his mission by Mohammad, others the capture of Jerusalem by Omar. The first reckon the terminus of the period to be Baha'ullah's private claim about 1862, the latter his visit to Mt. Carmel in 1888. Sometimes they reckon solar years; sometimes lunar.

✱ It may seem easy to refute such illogical and self-contradictory arguments but it is not a question (with a people lacking entirely in historical and critical acumen) of what is said but how a thing is said, - how positively and how often repeated. In handling these prophecies, for instance, most of us are handicapped by our knowledge of the difficulties attending the attempt to interpret all of them and our desire to be fair to those who have reached different conclusions than ourselves. These considerations seldom hinder a Bahai worker and his intimate connection with the life and thought and prejudices of the people give him an immense advantage.

✱ Thus the current Bahai interpretations of the 11th and 12th chapters of Revelations appeal to all the prejudices of the Shiah heart. In the 11th chapter, the two witnesses are Mohammed and Ali; in the 12th chapter, the woman is Islam (i.e. Shiah or true Islam) the child is

Mohammad, the sun is Persia (the lion and sun), the moon is Turkey, the stars are the twelve Imams, the opposing beasts are the first three Khalifs. The exposition is often finally ¹cinched to the Bahai mind by trying to identify 666 with Osman, according to the abjad system, although this involves the addition of an extra letter.

Here again we are apt to fail to appreciate the force of the argument from their standpoint. Their whole ²Calendar and many other of their laws and customs are founded, or at least supported, on just such numerical identification. Thus nine and nineteen constantly occur in their legal and ritual systems. Nine is the sum of the letters of Baha plus an "Alif" which represents the unknowable divine unity; nineteen (even more sacred) is the sum of the letters "Vahid" (unity) and "Vajud" (essence), the sum of an "Alif" and a "Hayy" (living), the number of letters in "Bismillah-er-Rahman er-Rahim, etc. In view of these sentiments, the writer has more than once found it most effective to point out that 666 is the sum of the letters in Nero Kaisar both in the Hebrew and Arabic alphabet and of Latinus in the Greek.

As a rule it is useless to attempt any systematic exposition of the prophecies with a Bahai but nevertheless it would be well for each one of us ^{to} carefully consider our own ideas on the questions involved and be as sure of ourselves as possible. Even more important perhaps is a united study of the question with Persian Christians and inquirers in order that they may appreciate the weakness of their opponents contentions and be united in their methods of reply. Our general attitude should be that it is not our duty to interpret these prophecies as a refutation of Bahaism but that the Bahais must show that Baha/³Allah fulfilled all the statement of the New Testament. Although he may seem to fulfil a hundred passages, a single verse which contradicts his

claim is enough to overthrow the whole chain of evidence. A quiet insistence upon the significance of such verses as "Salvation is from the Jews", "This Jesus who was received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld ^{Him} ~~them~~ going into heaven," ^{or} ~~or~~ "If any man preach unto you any gospel other than that which ye received let him be anathema", is often very effective.

#This whole question of Bahai exegesis will often try our patience. It is well therefore to remember a warning of Dr. Holmes. He says, "The traditional method of exegesis as employed by many of our helpers, simply plays into the hands of the Bahais. ***** If we are at liberty to interpret the Scriptures literally when it suits the convenience of our argument to do so, or figuratively at will, regardless of context or historical setting or perspective, then we are compelled to allow them the same liberty: and they can easily discount us in such a contest, since they know nothing of history and care less, and they have a facility in basing a fanciful interpretation on the numerical value of a letter or name, or on an assumed grammatical relation of the different parts of a sentence, to which a western expert in exegesis could never hope to attain.

#The missionary who is called upon to make apologetic statements of Christianity to Bahais must make sure that he himself knows what Christianity is. He must have seen with his own eyes, and have heard with his own ears Him of whom he speaks. *** In this kind of controversy it is necessary that one should see, not alone for one's self but for one's antagonist also, if he is to be convinced. *** When the reciprocal vision is exercised one will often find that what he thought to be rock in his own foundation is just what the other has seen it to be, a mere bed of sand. Much of the current allegorical and figurative

interpretation of prophecy are as beautiful and in such a discussion as unsubstantial as the rainbow. The undoubted value to the Christian of such interpretation as aids to faith and for edification rest upon another basis."

"Next most frequently after the exegetical method which we have just considered the Bahai attempts to establish his argument by assuming the necessity of a "Teacher" or a succession of teachers to reveal the Creator to the Created. They further assume certain "proofs" of such teachers which are commonly stated as follows;

1. He must claim to come from God.
2. He must bring a new doctrine.
3. His word must have power.
4. His word must remain.

"In answer to the whole line of argument the writer has found it most effective to point out that just about the same time that the Bab appeared in Persia a woman (Mrs. Eddy) arose in America who fulfilled all these conditions, i.e., she claims to bring a new revelation from God, containing a new doctrine, she has up to the present probably as many converts as Bahaism (250,000 in America alone) that he doctrine has spread beyond her own country and that it has remained as long as Bahaism has. Reference to Mormonism, the Millerites, Dowieism and "The Holy Ghost and Us Society" are also of value.

"The Bahais say their new doctrine is the "Brotherhood of Man". To us this seems sufficiently contained in the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God but the Bahais points to the factions and divisions of Christendom, the heavy armaments and frequent wars. We may adopt an "Et tu" attitude pointing out the divisions of Bahaism but it will not be very effective.

"The "power" to which the Bahai refers in the third point is not the power to transform lives but the power to win followers. Any one who has come into contact with Bahaism knows what apologetic emphasis is laid upon the supposedly rapid spread of Bahaism and the extent to which it has attracted attention. Occasionally we find a man who will believe our statements as to the true extent of Bahaism in America, but ordinarily he remains of the same mind still.

"Our opponent seldom if ever voluntarily argues from a philosophical or metaphysical standpoint. Nor will he admit as valid a comparison on the basis of reason of the Gospel, Koran and Agdas as to internal evidences of divine origin or general suitability to the needs of men. His idea of God permits a purely arbitrary conception of revelation which may be changed at will by the Divine Essence. Moreover he is as a rule very ignorant of the fundamental ideas of his own or any other faith. The attempts at systematic presentation of Bahaism issued in America when brought to the attention of a Persian Bahai generally leads to a flat denial that this is a true picture of Bahaism and many will say that if such is the case they reject the faith. With a thoughtful or sincere man - and there are such to be found - a discussion of the philosophical and moral aspects of religion is sometimes of value.

"Space prevents a careful consideration of Bahaism in relation to Islam but we cannot afford to ignore it. If we can overthrow the Bahais faith in Mohammad we cut off his own support. Even without attacking Islam there are occasions when it is of use to be thoroughly acquainted with the inconsistencies between Islam and Bahaism. A voluminous work has been prepared by Mirza Agha Taghi of Hamadan in answer to Bahaism but the volume is too uncritical to be of value. A little tract prepared in Resht seems more cogent. The Bahais attack the absurdity of popular conceptions of many traditions but vary greatly in their attitude to the

faith itself. Thus one will admit that Islam merely benefited the Arabs and was not a universal religion; another clings to the idea that the death of Hossein has an atoning value parrallel to the death of Jesus. It is easy, however, to turn their own methods of handling the traditions against them with effect and often their assertion of the divinity of Baha'ullah runs directly counter to the Koranic verse, "He neither begets nor is he begotten."

"With careful preparation we need not fear to meet any Bahai in argument but we need something more than this if we are going to win his allegiance. We must have his confidence. It is wonderful the absolute faith the ordinary Bahai places in his teacher. Even when he admits the unreliability of such a man in other departments of life he still clings to him as a religious guide. Our first step must be to win a like confidence in ourselves that he may be led to listen to the arguments and proofs which we can bring from history and science against the claims of Baha'ullah.

"Even after we have won his confidence we must find the means of gaining his attention. He is so sure of himself, so eager to persuade us that he does not really listen to what we say. One missionary says, "When a Bahai wishes to argue with me I refuse. I say, "You are a man and I am a man. We are both sinners. What are you going to do about it?" Such a statement as this or a sharp criticism of Bahai morality or a simple statement of our own Christian experience and power over sin may be effective. Our discussion then passes from the realm of controversy but in order to make it effective we must understand the longings of and the methods of approach to the Bahai heart which we will now try to set forth briefly.

II. The Inner Significance of Bahaism.

"Bahaism is a renewed expression of an inner longing which seems to have pervaded Persian thought for long centuries, the longing for actual contact with a Divine Being. Orthodox Islam failed entirely to satisfy this desire. Shia Islam with its practical deification of Ali and his family was only partially successful. It may be said that probably a majority of the Persians are dissentient from strict Shiism. Some of them seek through Sufism to lift themselves up into the Divine Essence; others through a long line of sects of which the Ali Allahis and the Bahais are recent and familiar examples endeavor to bring the Divine Essence down into human form.

"It is a mistake to suppose that Bahaism is in any sense a new development. We can trace many of its peculiar ideas even though they are somewhat obscured in its more recent teaching though the Muslimeyyeh, the Batini, the Ismailis and Assassins. Not only does it resemble them in its Anthropomorphism, its doctrine of Return and less distinctly Metempsychosis but also in its methods of propaganda and many peculiar customs in the use of colors and numbers.

"All these sects agree in the manifestation of the Divine Will in human form. To be sure the Bahais reject the Christian idea of Incarnation comparing their Manifestation to a mirror which reflects the sun without partaking of its nature. They call him a Perfect Man but Baha'ullah himself announces "There is no God but Me! O ye my creatures! Worship Me!" (Words of Paradise).

" In the Ighan he also says (Eng. trans. p. 69,70.)

"All the prophets, successors, divines, sages and wise men confess
 "their lack of attainment to the knowledge of the Essence of Essences
 "and admit their inability to know and reach that Truth of Truths.

***Therefore He caused brilliant Essences of Sanctity to appear from the Holy World of Spirit in mighty human temples. ***These mirrors of Sanctity and Dawning - places of Divinity fully express the Sun of Existence and Essence of Desire. For instance their Knowledge expresses His Knowledge, their Power His Power, their Dominion His Dominion, their Beauty His Beauty, and their Manifestation His Manifestation. They are the Treasuries of Supreme Knowledge, stores of Eternal Wisdom, revealers of Infinite Bounty, Dawning places of that Sun of Eternity. Therefore it is said: 'There is no difference between Thee and them except that they are Thy servants and Thy Creatures.' This is the station of 'I am He and He is me.'

"It is evident therefore that in dealing with Bahais as well as Sufis and Ali Allahis our difficulty is not to persuade them of the Divinity of Jesus Christ but to show them wherein this Divinity was peculiar to Him.

"Closely connected with this idea of Divinity is that of "Return." This too appears in Shiism in the expectation of the return of Christ and the Mahdi. The Bab's highest claim was that he was the Mahdi. Some of his followers called themselves Ali, Hossein, &c. Baha'ullah also in some of his earlier writings (Lawh i Nasir, J.R.A.S. October 89 p. 952) identifies himself with the Bab and speaks of the latter's execution as a personal experience in the following language: "They suspended my glorious body in the air, and wounded it with the bullets of malice and hatred, until my spirit returned to the Supreme Companion and gazed on the Most Beauteous Garment. And not one reflected wherefore it was that I accepted this injury from my servants, for, had they reflected, they would not have remained veiled from my Beauty in my second Manifestation." Again he says: "In the Bayah I admonished all in the language of power." Many writers and some Persian Bahais seem to state that Abbas Effendi is a return of Jesus Christ.

"The Bahai explanation of the doctrine as now given, in spite of the evident implication of the above passage, is that they only believe in a return of kind. Such and such a man shows the powers and qualities of Ali, for instance. They also state that the same spirit which was

in former manifestations is present in the latest Manifestation although the person is different. Abbas Effendi's resemblance to Christ depends rather upon his "Sonship" than upon any personal connection with Jesus of Nazareth.

"The Bahai teaching in regard to the future life is much confused. Among the early tales of Babism collected in Mirza'Jani's History is one of a Babi preacher who told his listeners that a dog whose howling they heard was a reincarnation of a neighbor who had recently died. As a rule, however, the Bahais deny Metemphychosis. Sometimes there is an effort to parallel the dissipation of the body with a dissipation of the spirit. Phelps, who claims to have Abbas Effendi's authority for the body of teaching which he has collected says that the World of Spirit which is an Emanation from the Divine Essence reacts upon the World of Matter, which is a negative phase of the Divine Essence, to form successive centers of self consciousness and activity which, progressing through long stages of development finally attain the highest form which is man. Man is given a ray (soul) direct from the Divine Essence which enables him to unite (if he strive) with that Essence. If he fails his spirit is dissipated in the world of spirit leaving upon it certain impression which tend to reappear in the same combination whenever a suitable material mould is found. Barney also claiming the authority of Abbas Effendi states that spirits of men persist after the death of the body in a cycle of perfection. Their degree in this cycle depends upon the progress they have made in this life. In the Seven Valleys, Baha 'ullah teaches that the soul progresses through seven stages, the final one of which is "absolute poverty and annihilation." Although Skrine says "This goal does not imply a merging of his personality

into the Absolute; it is a stepping stone to higher stages of consciousness of which we can have no conception", the language used implies absorption.

"The Persian Bahai generally clings to a belief in a life after death, the nature of which we do not know but in which there will be degrees depending upon conduct in the world. It is, however, too vague a thought to greatly influence his attitude towards sinfulness or impelled him to obedience to the commands of his master. The way of salvation or progress according to Baha'ullah rests upon obedience to the commands for most Bahais seem to think it depends rather upon their service to the Manifestation of the Age. They have apparently abandoned the Moslem excessively legal idea of work of merit and there is a faint trace of an atonement idea. A younger son of Baha'ullah while walking on the roof for meditation and prayer fell through the roof and died some thirty hours afterward. Later Baha'ullah said to the mother "Your son has been taken by God that his people might be freed. His life was the ransom and you should rejoice that you had a son so dear to give to the cause of God." The freedom mentioned seems, however, to have been freedom from persecution rather than implying any freedom from sin or reconciliation with God. To the Bahai God is absolutely unapproachable. "No relation, connection, separation, union, nearness, remoteness, position or reference is possible between Him and the contingent beings." (Ighan Eng. trans. 69).

"The specific laws and customs of the Bahais do not concern us here except to note that while moral precepts are freely given in the Bahai writings the commands concerning which one hears the most are those appointing stated times of prayers, fasts, marriage and divorce, laws of inheritance, a permanent organization (i.e., the House of Justice), etc. showing that Bahaiism aims at temporal as well as spiritual authority.

"We cannot dwell further upon Bahai doctrine and philosophy. Enough has been said to show that we must carefully consider our method of presenting our ideas of the Incarnation, of sin and atonement, man's possible intercourse with God, and the future life. With much of seeming resemblance in language our ideas on these topics will be challenged at every step by the Bahai. This confusion between language and meaning makes it very difficult to make rapid progress in training one who has become imbued with Bahai phraseology but once we have been able to clearly explain the Christian doctrine we find it has a strong appeal for many.

III. Bahai Propaganda.

"Here too we find no new phenomena beyond the facility of communication afforded by steam, electricity and the press. Professor Browne's description of an Ismaili propagandist (Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. I, 411) closely fits the Bahai worker. He says: "The type of this characteristic Persian figure seems scarcely to have varied from the time of Abu Muslim till the present day, when the Da'iof the Babis goes forth on his perilous missions between Persia, his native land, and Syria where his spiritual leaders dwell in exile." The da'i commonly adopted some ostensible profession, such as that of merchant, physician, oculist or the like, and, in this guise, arrived at the place where he proposed to begin operations. In the first instance his aim was to impress his neighbors with a high idea of his piety and benevolence. To this end he was constant in almsgiving and prayer, until he had established a high reputation for devout living, and had gathered around him a circle of admirers. To these,

especially to such as appeared most apt to receive them, he began gradually and cautiously to propound his doctrines, striving especially to arouse the curiosity of his hearers, to awaken in them a spirit of inquiry and to impress them with a high opinion of his wisdom but prepared at any moment to draw back if they showed signs of restiveness or suspicion."

"Bahais take great delight in twitting the missionary on the comparative success in outward converts between their methods and that of the missionary and Professor Browne makes the following somewhat unfair comparison. "If this type of da'i is so far as we can judge almost unvarying in Western Asia, it differs greatly from that of the European missionary, whose learning, knowledge of character, and adaptibility to circumstances fall short by as much as his material needs and his national idiosyncrasies exceed those of the da'i.

"There are of course two fundamental differences between our aims and methods and those of the Bahais. First, Christianity demands honesty in every step. The secrecy, deceit, and intrigue practiced by many Bahais of our acquaintance are foreign to the very nature of our faith. Second, no missionary is satisfied with any mere outward profession of faith. He demands that the life shall be transformed from a life of sin into a life of growing purity.

"Although Christian missionaries have been in many localities far more successful in transforming men's lives than Bahaiism has in Persia and has not been behind it in numerical results we must recognize that as foreigners we are handicapped. However willing we may be we cannot wholly free ourselves from life long habits and customs and modes of thought even if it is desirable to do so. We have long recognized

that the evangelization of Persia must rest with the Persians. It is of great importance, therefore, that we understand the Bahai propaganda that on the one side we may know how to meet it and protect our converts and, on the other hand, train them to work as far as possible along the lines of the Persian genius for propaganda.

"The first feature that impresses us is the influence of the personality of the leaders and the organization which they have built. It is not only the influence of Baha'ullah and his successors but that of many a less well known worker. It has been said that the Persian makes a good soldier when he has a worthy leader. The Persian is an enthusiastic propagandist when he has inspiring leadership. I think perhaps we are too inclined to content ourselves with the role of teacher rather than leader. We must endeavor to exalt the Person of Christ in word and life and inspire a deeper loyalty to him and His cause of which we are for the time being the representatives.

"In spite of many statements to the contrary in European and Articles on the subject of Bahaiism we know that it is one of the most compact religious organizations to be found. At present this depends largely upon the influence of Abbas Effendi and the work of a few of his associates. It is doubtful whether he will find a successor of such ability, but Baha'ullah has provided that the affairs of the faith shall be administered by committees who are infallible and apparently have power to suspend or apply at will the most fundamental laws.

"All of us know something of the operation of this organization, the appointment of leaders (bishops almost) for various countries, the contribution of funds to help in building a place of worship in America. the bringing of Americans to help in Teheran, the frequent transfers of workers, Persian and American, from one country to another, the pilgrimages

to Acca, the publication of a newspaper in Persian and English, the use of the press at home are all familiar to us. In our own work we must aim at helping one another more, in bringing pressure to bear in opportune moments and places and by trying to make the Persians feel the continuity and forward movement of Christianity not only in Persia but also in the whole world. We can also do much by a more thorough districting of our fields and a careful study of various forms of cooperation. Especially may I suggest a bureau of information of some kind as to available workers and the needs of special fields.

"A third factor is personal work. We have already described the typical Bahais propagandist. He does not hold public or formal meetings or preaching services. He has some business through which he gets into contact with people and thus gradually draws on and instructs the more receptive ones. Once they have made far enough progress to be trusted he introduces them to a "shabnishini" where they are brought into contact with other inquirers. Great emphasis is laid upon instruction especially in the legal side of the faith and in polemic so that the inquirer is soon ready to enter into controversy and is well qualified to induct others into the initial steps of belief. There is nothing unusual in this method except its adaptation to local conditions. It is the same that has been used in Korea, Manchuria and many other fields by Christian workers.

"The most noticeable local feature is the use of the "shabnishini" or the customs the Persians have of getting together night after night in various semi-social meetings. In some places these gatherings are largely literary in character; in others, as in Resht, the purpose is too often drinking and gaming. The Bahais have used these meetings

with great effectiveness. After sitting up until two or three hours after dark the host often serves dinner to some or all of the company and generally a few remain until morning. There is no reason why we should not avail ourselves of this custom but of course it is impossible for most of us to sit up until eleven, twelve or one o'clock night after night and then get up in time to run a dispensary or school the next morning. There ought to be some one in each station free from other work to undertake this social and personal work.

IV. Conclusion.

"In conclusion may I sum up my suggestions in a few words? Our first step should be to seek to become more thoroughly imbued with Persian ways of thought and to get into closer contact with Persians by adapting ourselves as far as possible to local customs and conditions. Especially do I think we can make a greater use of the "shah nishini."

"I would emphasize also the need of more systematic instruction of inquirers and recent converts not merely in doctrine but also in apologetic and controversy. While we are busy trying to get a man to appreciate some of the fundamentals a Bahai is busy overthrowing his faith in the finality of Christianity by some of the arguments we have already outlined. We have also been criticised by some of our own number because we are keen on a man until he confesses a desire to be a Christian and then neglect him as though that had been our only desire.. We must so organize our work that we have time to thoroughly instruct all inquirers and candidates for baptism.

"We have already referred to the importance of using the Persian for the actual evangelistic work. Sometimes we complain because we cannot pay evangelists large salaries. We ought rather to emphasize the importance of each man's work in his own profession and circle. The use of money in evangelistic work and in helping new converts by the Bahais is naturally a very difficult one to investigate. Some of their workers are paid salaries, or at least expenses; others, even those who devote much time to the work, may be self-supporting. The great mass of workers probably support themselves. There is, however, a custom of helping converts and inquirers by giving them work to do or starting them in business. When an inquirer or Bahai is without work a number of the Bahais get together and arrange work for him, or sometimes, I have been told, simply appoint some man to help him. In new centers funds may come from outside but I am of the impression that usually a community of Bahais is sending money out of the locality rather than receiving outside help.

"There is a final suggestion which I might have made in a number of points in the foregoing discussions. It is that need of a Christian newspaper in Persian. The power of the printed page is tremendous among the Persians. We have already noted their ignorance of the religious movements of the present and the past. A paper giving pertinent sketches of various religions and religious movements and especially of the missionary activities of Protestant Christianity would have a tremendous influence. There is also need for a medium to inculcate steadily and persistently higher moral ideals. The Bahai seems entirely lacking in any idea of a higher moral life than that to which he is surrounded. We should try to inspire him to seek better things.

"Above all things let us not be discouraged in work for Bahais. It must be admitted that the typical Bahai is not very anxious to seek truth but there are among them many others who will respond to careful patient effort."

Tabriz, Persia, April 17, 1888

Rev. Arthur Mitchell, D. D.

Dear Sir:

Last Monday the 9th inst a telegram was sent the Board by unanimous action of the Mission asking permission for me to resign, in order to accept the position on Physician in Chief of His Imperial Highness the Vali-Ahd. The telegraph was employed because I was on the eve of my departure for Europe and could not wait for an answer by mail, and because the Vali-Ahd was about starting off on a long hunting expedition and was very desirous of having the contract written before his departure.

In taking a step so important and fraught with so grave responsibility, I have been guided not by my own preferences, which would have led me to continue in my present work, but by my convictions of duty to God, and by the advice of my associates here in the Mission, as well as by friends outside, among them
and Mr. Easton, both of whom were formerly
Mission, and are deeply interested in its
and it is fitting that I should narrate the events which have led on to this result.

Had I not planned to go away, it is probable that I would not have been called upon soon to decide this question. I have been called upon frequently during the past two years to attend His Royal Highness and various members of his family, professionally, and my work has been seriously interrupted by these calls upon my time. Yet it has been felt by us all that it were better to let some other interests suffer than to wilfully neglect what seemed to be a providential opening for the proclamation of the truth as it is in Jesus in the household of the Heir Apparent of the of Persia. For I have for a year or more enjoyed the utmost freedom in the Palace in presenting the claims of Christ as the all sufficient and only Savior of mankind who are all under condemnation for sin. I have had frequent and earnest discussions with His Highness on the comparative claims of Christianity and Islam upon

why the teachings of the Prophet an un- the
soul from sin. So also in the

and to show that faith in Him is the essential condition of salvation. But I have endeavored to do kindly and persuasively seeking rather to draw them out of the stronghold of their prejudices and misconceptions rather than by widely assaulting, to incur the risk of strengthening and confirming them. This might not be the best method for a scholar who was thoroughly familiar with Islam, but for me, I am sure that it has been best for me to confine myself so far as possible to telling of what I know and testifying to what I have seen of the wonderful works of God.

Since I announced my purpose to going away for a vacation, there has apparently been some feeling of uneasiness lest I might not return, on the part of the Vali-Ahd, and he and the officers of his court have frequently intimated to me that he was very reluctant to have me go. At one time I had decided to go in February but the Vali-Ahd sent me a personal request through the Ameer e Nizam that I would at least defer my departure till after the New Year's festival which falls on the 21st of March. To this I consented. Meantime the Ameer, the able and powerful Governor General of Azerbaijan fell ill, and for a long time it was the settled conviction of every one, myself perhaps excepted, that he would certainly die, he being at an advanced age and a chronic invalid. His disease, obstruction of the bowels, was a very serious one but he would not consent to a consultation. And except for the aid of his attending physician a Persian Afshar I had to assume the entire responsibility of the case. Last year I carried him through a serious illness but this was much more

grave, and in Teheran the conviction was so strong that he could not recover that his successor was already appointed. To the surprise of all and the disappointment of some the Ameer recovered. After his convalescence the infant daughter of the Vali-Ahd fell ill of meningitis and the charge of the case was intrusted to me. Dr. Castaldi, brother-in-law of the Russian Consul General here, about whom I have previously written in connection with his dishonorable course in relation to Miss Bradford's coming, was, through an intrigue of one of the attending physicians as I believe, introduced into the case. I had a short time before exacted a pledge from him that he would desist from aspersions of Miss Bradford, and he was feeling sore over this and over the Ameer's case, etc., and thinking that I had made an incorrect diagnosis, he sought to discredit me. He broke down completely in this attempt, however. Hearing from good authority that he was again slandering Miss Bradford, representing that her coming would be "productive of immorality," I called him again to account, giving Mr. Abbott, H. B. Ms Consul General as my authority. He denied the charge, and we went together to Mr. Abbott, who sustained me, asserting that Dr. C. had in effect made the statement charged against him. I had plenty of other evidence, but this was conclusive, and I unsparingly denounced the man, who seemed incapable of understanding that he had done anything out of the way. He said if I would give him a guarantee that Miss B. would not come in any way in competition with him in his obstetrical and other practice, he would desist from defaming her. The absurdity of this claim will be more apparent when it is understood that he came here some months later than I, and that I have relinquished all the European practice, the selling of drugs, etc., to him, and that he claims the whole Armenian and Mussulman population as his clientele - as opposed to Miss B. (not to me however). As both argument and denunciation were wasted on him, I said no more, though Mr. Abbott gave him some sound advice. The affair would not be worthy of repetition were it not that his brother-in-law has it in his power to do our work immense mischief, owing to the near propinquity

of Russia, and her predominating influence in Persia, with her well known hostility to Protestantism. It was the Russian influence that enabled the Armenian Bishop to worry us so much last fall in Maragha. I will return to this subject later on, only saying here that after a month's careful watching of the little patient, I pronounced her convalescent, and received publicly the thanks of the Vali-Ahd, and a second "Kholat" or robe of honor.

As the time drew near for our departure, propositions were renewed looking to my remaining and entering the service of His Imperial Highness. I repeatedly declined to take them into consideration, saying that I would return after a year and would be then ready to serve him as I had done in the past, without compensation. But this did not satisfy him. One thousand, two thousand, three thousand toman, were successively offered as salary, but I declined to make an engagement on any terms, unless I could first go abroad for health and study. I said, however, that if the missionaries and the Board approved, I would accept the position on my return, stipulating that no restriction should be placed on my engaging in Christian work as heretofore. No objection was made to this, the Chief recommending me to the Vali-Ahd for the position on the ground that I was true to the teachings of my own faith and therefore worthy of being trusted in the

Still I understand that I shall have to be very prudent for a time, as there will very probably be a reaction before long, and prejudice is almost sure to be aroused over the affair. Yet I have the strong indorsement of the Governor General, the Chief , a very powerful ecclesiastic, the English, French and Turkish Consuls, Dr. Tholozan, the French physician of His Majesty the Shah, four of the five native physicians in attendance on the Vali-Ahd, most of the leading officials at the Palace, etc.

Since the agreement was made, the Vali-Ahd has requested me to stay awhile before going in order to fairly enter upon my new duties. To bind the bargain I have been advised to accept their proposition, since there is great probability that influences may be brought to bear to prevent the carrying out

of the contract should I leave just now, and with the mission interests at stake I could not attempt to enforce it. Besides, a saving to the Board of more than two thousand dollars would probably be effected, as I shall insist on a vacation next spring of seven or eight months on full salary which, if granted, will give me better facilities for recreation and study than I could otherwise have enjoyed even with a longer vacation. I hope the new arrangement will relieve me of some cares which have had much to do with my ill health and that I can after my return stay long enough to earn another vacation.

But I do want to be considered as having withdrawn from missionary work, and I should feel it a great loss were I to be dropped from the current of sympathy and the prayers of the Church, which missionaries everywhere cherish as a precious heritage, strengthening and stimulating with their blessed influences the weariest laborer in a work, which, to any but God, would be justly considered impossible of success. My heart is in the work, and no mere pecuniary consideration could induce me to leave it. But I believe that in the long run I can do the cause more service in the Palace than where I am, and should the Prince become the King, as he may do at any time, it is possible my influence might be greatly increased in its sphere. The contract, it is true, is not yet signed, and influence may yet be brought to bear to prevent it, but this is now hardly probable.

For the present I can take care of the medical needs of the missionaries here, probably till Miss Bradford comes. Do not hurry about appointing a successor. I have before given you reason why an imperfectly educated physician would not be likely to succeed here. These reasons apply with even greater force to the changed relations of the present, and especially now that Dr. Castaldi has become an open or at any rate probably a secret enemy. After his last discomfiture he expressed regrets for his course, and gave me his parole of honor again to act the part of a friend, and on these terms we became reconciled. I hope he may keep his pledge and will do all I

can to help him. But he cannot be trusted far. He is well read, and could worry a young man not quite well up on controversial questions, as he does in his dealings with the Persian physicians.

But much more than this, the work of medical education in Tabriz is in our hands, if we will consent to accept it. If I had the time and strength to teach, I could have a large class of Mussulman young men from the best families. I shall have to do something at it, but am inadequate to the test, having neither time nor strength nor ability. But a thoroughly equipped young man of good physique ought to be found, who could come and take up this work with great profit to our cause. I could render some help, but cannot undertake to carry on the work. He ought to be up on experimental chemistry, microscopy, histology, pathology, etc. These questions are frequently discussed intelligently by the native physicians, and they often refer them to me. The doors are opening in Tabriz for educational work and for medical work, but they are becoming straitened in other lines, and it is not unlikely that ere long we will be practically restricted to these agencies. It is the part of wisdom to do the best work we can along the lines that Providence marks out for us. The time has not yet come for our doing much in general educational work for Mussulmans, but in the medical department the way is clear. We could also find many houses open to us among the influential classes who wish their sons to learn English. But they are not prepared to send them to our schools, and we have as yet no men at liberty sufficiently qualified in English to send out with our indorsement. The Ameer recently made the request that Miss Van Hood would give his daughter a weekly lesson in embroidery and painting, agreeing to send his carriage for her. She accepted, and on the Ameer's return from a garden in the suburbs, where he is spending a short vacation, it is expected that she will enter upon this

duty. The Vali-Ahd requested me recently to send for a missionary lady who would come and teach his children English, French, Music, etc., offering a salary of three hundred dollars and expenses of the journey. I gave him no encouragement that such a lady could be found to come on so small a salary to engage in secular work and do not think it quite advisable just yet that we should ask for a lady for this purpose. Mrs. Wilson is teaching music, etc., to the Vali-Ahd's daughter, wife of the Nusrat ed Dowleh, and is getting a strong foothold there. It is better to make haste slowly, lest there be a violent reaction. Yet it would be well if the Board would keep in view the probable certainty that the request will be renewed, and if a suitable lady be found, the way may be opened for her doing a great work in training the young princesses and by example and precept to instil in their young hearts the knowledge of a Savior and Lord.

I would earnestly request that Miss Bradford go to Europe for three months' study before coming on here. She cannot have time now for more or I would ask for more. If my arrangement with the Vali-Ahd does not fall through, I will give two hundred dollars toward paying her expenses in London and Paris. She should also go to Birmingham and get a practical acquaintance with Mr. Lawson Tait's methods. But I would request that she give particular attention to diseases of the skin, especially their diagnosis, unless already well acquainted with the subject, and that she study microscopy and bacteriology under a competent teacher, if possible spending also a few weeks in Pasteur's new institute soon to open in Paris. Her coming here has been well advertised by the events I have narrated, and she will meet with a most hearty welcome. The difficulty will be to avoid too much work until she acquires the language, for she will need Turkish for the poor and Persian for the higher classes. Mrs. Wilson is making many friends and will be a great help to Miss Bradford as will Miss Jewett also through her extensive acquaintance with the women of all classes, has long exerted a great influence

for good in Tabriz.

Now I have another word to say which I hope may not fall on unwilling ears. In this affair of Miss Bradford's we were in danger of having such a scandal developed by the persistent efforts of this unscrupulous man that I felt for a time that it would be necessary either for me to stay and protect her, until she was fairly introduced to the people, or else to advise her to delay her coming till my return. The way this man talked was astounding. It is astonishing that a man in official position, such as a consul, would for a moment indorse a man who seemed so destitute of all honor or principle. It would not do to take the case before the Mussulman authorities, as the lady was still in America, and they would have probably advised her staying there, though it is true that the Vali-Ahd once requested me to write and urge her coming. Had not Mr. Abbott come to the rescue, I hardly know what would have been the outcome, but it would have almost certainly resulted in my staying on a different basis from at present, and in Miss B. being heavily handicapped on her arrival. But thanks to him and Mrs. Abbott, we were enabled to bring the offender promptly to the bar of public opinion, and to crush the viperous brood ere it had gained vitality enough to prolong its own existence. No tongue will wag against Miss Bradford now, and she will enter on her work with advantages accorded to few missionaries on first coming out.

Now as to the moral. The representatives of the British Government have served our Mission and our missionaries for more than fifty years well and faithfully. Their post has been no sinecure but they have patiently and uncomplainingly rendered us all needed assistance during this half century with no reward nor no remuneration whatever. It is true that Mr. Abbott received the thanks of our Government for the protection he accorded our missionaries during the Sheikh Obeidullah war in Oroomiah, but however

great an honor this may be it had in it nothing substantial. We have often felt humiliated at having to receive these services gratis, for even the fees Mr. Abbott receives for viseing our passports, etc., he cannot keep. Here we have again a most signal service rendered by Mr. A. in which he has had to incur the illwill of the Russian Consul and his wife which, owing to the restricted social circle here, might be a very annoying circumstance.

Now I believe it is in the power of the influential gentlemen who compose the Board to pay off in part this great obligation of fifty years accumulation, and this more recent indebtedness to Mr. Abbott personally, to say nothing of the services he rendered in the Koordish war when together with Dr. Cochran he risked his life to give succor to the missionaries, American and French, and the native Christians who were shut up in the city of Oroomiah. Mr. Abbott is very modest and very reticent, and not a man to seek honors for himself, but I happen to know of a way in which the recognition by his own Government of his twenty-five years' term of service in Persia would be very acceptable to him. The British Government frequently confer the Order of Companion of St. Michael and St. George upon their diplomatists who have served acceptably for a term of years much less than Consul General Abbott's record shows. All or nearly all the British Consuls in Persia have I think received this decoration except Mr. Abbott. That it has not come to him is solely due as I believe to the fact that he has no influential friends in high quarters to call the attention of the Government to his deserts. Can we not now supply the place of that friend in need as he has befriended us in our time of trial. It only needs that through a suitable channel, our Minister in London, Mr. Phelps should be prevailed upon to mention to Lord Salisbury the gratification with which he has learned through the American missionaries in Persia of Mr. Abbott's services in behalf of the native Christians in Persia, and of the various missionary agencies who are engaged in labors for them, and especially of the services he rendered during the Koordish war, and to suggest

his being made a Companion of St. Michael and St. George. This would doubtless bring the decoration and to see it bestowed would confer almost as much pleasure on the American missionaries as it would on Mr. Abbott himself. Cannot the Board do this much in return for all it has received in the past from Her Majesty's representatives? Of course it would not do to make the request in the name of the American missionaries, as it might be replied that our own Government was the proper one to reward services to her own subjects. But this is not necessary, as the native Christians of Persia, especially the Nestorians, have long been regarded as in some sense wards of the British Government, and the request could be made mainly on that score.

We are yet hoping that a rupture with the Russian Consul may be averted, and hope that nothing relating to this affair of Dr. Castaldi may be permitted to get into print, as such things sometimes find their way back. Our road to and from Persia lies through the Caucasus, and if he should at any time refuse to vize our passports on the ground that we were Protestant missionaries who were a menace to Russian institutions, it is not unlikely that he would be sustained by his Government. On the other hand, by backing the Armenian Bishop here, he could keep us in perennial hot water in our Armenian work.

Mrs. Van Hook's health continues very unsatisfactory. Had we gone abroad she would have gone with us, but since we have decided to stay awhile longer, she prefers to wait. I hope that Miss Bradford may do much for her, and she is very reluctant to leave her work, if possible to avoid it. She has done a most faithful and successful work in her conduct of the school since, under many discouragements. She organized the first class of little girls in Lalawa ten years ago.

Miss _____ is expected home from Teheran today. She has been greatly benefitted by her sojourn in Hamadan and Teheran, and though still to some extent a sufferer from the periosteal trouble, she feels hopeful of engaging soon again the the full discharge of the duties she has been

compelled for so long a time to lay aside. She will however I think be compelled for some time yet to come to moderate her zeal, and to make haste slowly. It has been very discouraging for one so well fitted for missionary work as she, and in the midst of so great and so needy a field, to have been shut out from active duty for so long a time. But missionaries are required to learn both "to labor and to wait."

Dr. Cochran is now enroute with his family to America for the rest and the change and the opportunity for study which he so much needs after his hard labors of the past ten years. These have been eventful years for him, and for the work in Oroomiah, which he has done so much to advance. He has done a great work then and has I trust a much greater work before him. Do not let him ask for anything he needs, in vain. He will give a good account of all that is intrusted to him. And he ought to have every facility for carrying on his hospital work unimpeded by financial embarrassment.

In this connection let me say a word for Dr. Torrence and his hospital in Teheran. When I decided to enter the service of the Vali-Ahd, I determined with the approval of the Board to pay a short visit to America, and do my best to raise money to complete and equip the hospital in Teheran. Now that my visit is likely to be postponed for a year, I feel all the more anxious to call the attention of the Christian people of America to the claims of this important work. I have indicated above my belief as to the future of medical missionary work in Persia. It certainly appears to have a bright prospect before it in all the four centers, Teheran, Hamadan, Tabriz and Oroomiah, where American missionary physicians are stationed. The work in Teheran under Dr. Frances Case is already established on a firm basis. Teheran is the political center of Persia and is daily growing in importance in its political and commercial relations with a large part of Central Asia. A first class hospital in that important center will have an influence for good, far reaching in extent, and incalculable in the results. Mrs.

by her generous donation has set the ball in motion. Are there not others to whom God has given ample means who would be glad to have their names identified with hers in an enterprise destined to do so much toward promotion the advent of our Redeemer's Kingdom.

In reading over this letter I observe one or two statements that need qualification. One is that all the British Consuls to Persia excepting Mr. Abbott have received the Order of C. M. G. I should have said all the Ministers; and just now Mr. Nicolson, who has acted for a short time as Charge d' Affaires. Also I see that I have given the impression that the favor asked for Mr. A. is a personal request of my own. On the contrary I am representing not only the wishes of our Station, but as I believe of the entire Mission, and with the same view we have as a Station requested Minister Pratt to make favorable mention of Mr. Abbott to Sir Henry Drummond Wolf, H.B. Ms Minister, who has just arrived at the Capital.

I should also have included the work of the American Bible Society among the agencies having exceptional opportunities for evangelistic work in the future in Persia. It is true that for some time past, and at present, restrictions have been placed upon the sale of the Scriptures, but we hope that this may prove only temporary. I have therefore presented my views as to the possibilities of evangelistic work for Mussulmans, connected with the work of colporteurs specially selected and trained for this purpose. Annual meeting recommended tentative measures in this direction, and Mr. Whipple who is entire accord with the Mission is shaping his colportage work, so far as circumstances will permit, so as to get the best men to be found enlisted in its make. Dr. Shedd has written you as to the present or prospective needs of a missionary, qualified by a thorough knowledge of Arabic, and of the institutions of Islam, who should give especial attention to training evangelists for work among the Muslims of all classes. I am firmly convinced of the need of such a missionary. For the present he could do the most good in the College at Oroomiah, where he could give a post-graduate course to a class of students and preachers selected

with special view to their work. But he could probably do a good work by visiting from time to time the different stations, giving a few months instruction to the helpers, etc. He would need to be a man not only of large knowledge, but of matured judgment, willing if need be to bury himself from the sight of men while laying deep foundations, perhaps of others only to build upon. Islam in this generation will not be taken by assault. The sappers and miners have yet much work to do before the strongholds are pulled down. Thirteen times did the priests of Israel compass their weary round of the walls of Jericho before Joshua was permitted to say unto the people, "Shout; for the Lord hath given you the city." But as surely as that the Lord fulfilled his promise to deliver Jericho into the hand of Joshua. So surely will he fulfill his pledge that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and that every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord. "With men it is impossible but with God all things are possible."

I would suggest, individually, that a somewhat careful editorial supervision should be exercised in publishing letters from missionaries, myself included. I understand that the Shah has been much dissatisfied with some of the statements made in Mr. Benjamin's book and has ordered its translation word for word in Persian. I have not seen the book, and do not know what the offensive expressions are, but the probability is that in consequence the writings of other Americans will be sought for, and capital be made of any indiscreet expressions of ours which may find their way in print. It would give great satisfaction to certain of our enemies to find such things emanating from us.

I remain very respectfully and truly yours.

Geo. W. Holmes

His Beginnings and the School of War

George Washington Holmes was born in Crawfordsville, Indiana, on Feb. 22, 1841. His birthday was responsible for his middle name and he was never reconciled to it. He thought they might have named him George McCormick, using his grandmother's maiden name. On his father's side he came of Scotch Irish stock. His grandfather, Andrew Holmes, was born about 1750 in Ireland, probably at Belfast. Of Andrew's father nothing is known, but his mother is believed to have settled in Virginia and to have lived for a time in Pennsylvania, where Andrew Holmes at the time of his death had an interest in an estate which his son Magnus came on horseback from Kentucky to settle. Andrew moved early in the nineteenth century to Shelby County, Kentucky, where he was an engineer and magistrate, living on his farm in a house beautifully situated on a knoll about half a mile from Shelbyville, and where his name, as "Judge Holmes", was well known until after the Civil War. He was related to President Zachary Taylor and he made the survey for the fine highway between Shelbyville and Lexington.

Andrew was a prosperous man ~~having~~^{leaving} a good estate with many household effects, "great pots", and several slaves to his widow, his son Magnus and his two daughters. The children received as good an education as the neighborhood afforded. The girls rode to school on one horse up the creek which ran through the farm, followed by a colored boy on another horse. Magnus, George's father, received a medical education at Lexington and after his father's death removed with his mother and sisters to Crawfordsville, Indiana, where he engaged in merchandizing with Ben T. Ristine. ~~He~~^{He} also practiced his profession as a doctor. In 1826 he married his partner's sister, Eliza Ann, Ristine. Her father, Henry Ristine, had been one of the founders of Crawfordsville, driving into the place in 1823 from Madison in a large emigrant van drawn by six horses and followed by another two horse wagon, and ~~then~~ by the cattle driven by Ben, then a fifteen year old boy, on horseback. Henry Ristine was the true American pioneer type. He was born in Albany, N.Y., in 1761, removed as a child to Gallatin County, Ky. and then in 1829 to Madison, Indiana. At Madison the mother

with her babies was compelled to hide in ravines while her husband with others moved out with rifles in hand to resist Indian attacks. For sometime Henry Ristine served in the Indian wars, exercising command for some months of ^{port} Harrison which ^{now is} the city of Terre Haute. In later life he was known as Major Ristine. He served repeatedly in the State ^fLegislature as a whig, was connected from its organization with the New School Baptist Church in Crawfordsville and embodied in himself and transmitted to his children the reliant and reliable character of the American frontiersman.

Eliza Ristine was only a young girl going to school when she was married. Magnus Holmes boarded with her ^{parents} ~~parents~~ and when he asked their consent to the marriage Eliza's mother said, "Why do you want to marry that child?// why do you not go and marry Eliza Miller?" Magnus answered that he did not want Eliza Miller. He wanted Eliza Ristine. They made their bridal journey to Kentucky on horseback. At one point on the way the tavern keeper inquired of the doctor if he was taking his daughter to Kentucky to attend school. She was then in her sixteenth year.

George was five years old at the time of his father's death and the young mother had a hard struggle to live and provide for her family. Fortunately her brother, Dr. Henry Ristine, had come to Marion ^{town} where he lived until his removal to Cedar Rapids, a rapidly growing place, five miles away. In those early days the Indians were near neighbors and frequently came to the Holmes' house. The Indians were friendly but the white settlers felt it necessary to provide food whenever they asked for it. Once at least they came when Mrs. Holmes had nothing in the house for her family but a little corn meal. She dared not refuse, however, and made cakes and gave them to the Indians, praying the while that some food might be provided for her little ones.

As a boy George joined the Methodist Church but seems to have felt ^{that} he had lost interest in religious things till 29 years of age when (it is believed during a revival) he felt he was truly taking his stand ~~on the Lord's side~~ and joined the

Congregational Church at Marion. He used sometimes to say ^{that} he was "a Methodist-Congregational-Presbyterian." Probably his varied experience made him broader in his sympathies. When he went to Cedar Rapids and began his practice of medicine, there was no Congregational Church there and he ~~very properly~~ affiliated with the Presbyterians.

His mother must have been a deeply religious woman but her many sorrows and hard life, with much ~~of~~ lack of health, made her despondent at times and she doubted "whether she was saved," and she distinctly passed on some of her qualities to her son.

When a boy about twelve years of age he had gone on a visit to Crawfordsville and returned with his uncle to Marion, driving across country in a buggy.

Several of the children having died, he removed, in 1856, in the spring, with his mother and youngest sister to Crawfordville, where he attended Vabash College. In the autumn of 1858 he returned alone (so far as his immediate family was concerned) to Marion. He was with some older men and they drove through ^{in those days} as usual. At the impressionable age of 17 he was much excited by the reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and as they journeyed on through Illinois they stopped at many places where these speeches had been made, but to his disappointment they did not overtake the speakers.

Arrived at Marion, Iowa, he was engaged as clerk in the Drug Store of his Uncle, Dr. Henry Ristine.

He began the study of medicine (with his uncle as was customary at the time) but gave this up on the breaking out of the Civil War, and enlisted under President Lincoln's first call for 75,000 men, April 1861, for 8 months' service.

The army and life were to be his chief school. The earlier years had not given much opportunity. In a letter in 1897 he wrote ^{brief} ~~a~~ account of the educational advantages which he and his parents had enjoyed. "My father and mother were educated people as the communities among whom they lived reckoned, but my father began his life almost with the century (1802) and my mother was ten years younger. In Kentucky and Indiana and in Iowa, where they came when I was but one year old,

there were but few schools in those days and those were poor enough. When I was five years old, my father, who was then a successful physician living in Marion, died, and though he had a good deal of property, money was very scarce and the property did not bring much when sold. Mother, herself a great invalid for many years and with four children to provide for, had a bitter struggle with sickness and adversity and had little time or opportunity to give to my instruction. Occasionally, a man or woman would come along and teach a private school for a few months in the winter but there was no regularity about it in any respect except that the teaching was uniformly of the very poorest quality. When I was fifteen, Mother moved from Marion to Crawfordsville and there I spent a little over two years in the preparatory department of Wabash College, but I had to give up my hope of an education on account of poverty, and I went back to Marion and entered Uncle Henry's drug store as a clerk, instead of entering college. After another two years and a half in which I did something else at studying medicine, the war broke out and for three and a half years I was in the army."

The Army and the experience of the Civil War, however, were with him, as with tens of thousands of the young men of that generation, a great and effective school of character and power. The Company in which he first enlisted was not accepted and he accordingly re-enlisted for three years or for the period of the war, at Marion ~~and~~ in Company A. Sixth Iowa Volunteer Infantry. The regiment was mustered in the U.S. service, July 17 and 18, 1861, at Camp Warren, Burlington, Iowa. George Holmes was 4th Sergeant of his Company. His wife writes: "When 'the boys' were first mustered in they were in a camp on a hillside and on the flat ground below. No arms, no tents, no blankets had as yet been supplied. They drilled with sticks and got on as best they could at night without blankets. ^{George} either brought blankets with him or sent for some. There came a period of rain, the earth was soaked and of course there was more discomfort and danger than in dry weather. One night as they were enduring it as best they could a wag on one part of the field started a cry like the boatmen on the Mississippi River when making soundings, 'One foot and a

half'. From another part of the field came 'Two feet ten twain.' Others chimed in giving soundings here and there till the first called out 'No bottom.'

A little later they were sent to Arkansas and with the malarial climate many sickened and died. It was then ^{that Gen. Holmes} first heard the strains of Handel's "Dead March in Saul" played by the band, as one comrade and another was borne to his last resting place. The solemnity of these ~~grand~~ strains in the forest sunk deep in his soul and ~~must have~~ ^{always} brought back a flood of memories whenever he heard the music of which he was fond. Only a year or more before his death ^{he} bought an Aeolian piano player and he used often to play the "Dead March in Saul".

On August 6, 1861, the regiment, ⁱⁿ its history, records - "On August 6th, 1861, the regiment received orders to proceed to Keokuk, where the Colonel received arms for six companies of his regiment and at once marched across the border into the State of Missouri to assist the Fifth Iowa Infantry in preventing a threatened invasion of Iowa by Rebel troops. The Rebels retreated. There was no loss to the 6th Iowa Infantry. The regiment returned to Keokuk and on the 9th of August proceeded by boat to St. Louis; was stationed at various places. On Sept. 19, 1861, the regiment went to Jefferson City and from that place started in an active campaign in the State of Missouri. During the remainder of 1861 and the winter of 1862 the regiment passed through an experience in the State of Missouri which may be well called the hard training school which fitted it for the great work which lay before it. Marched long distances over rough roads; men were overloaded with heavy knapsacks. Many died; many were disabled. Little fighting."

Holmes had advanced from 4th Sergeant to 1st Sergeant when the regiment was ordered on March 7, 1862, to join the Army of the Tennessee and was assigned to the First Brigade of the Fifth Division under General W. T. Sherman, at Pittsburg Landing. The position of the regiment was on the extreme right of the army, while two of its companies were detached to defend the bridge crossing Owl Creek, some distance in advance of the regiment. When the Rebel attack began on Sunday morning, April 6th, these two companies were in a greatly exposed position and found much difficulty in rejoining the regiment, which they finally succeeded in doing under the leadership

of Captain Walden, in time to participate in the severest contest in which the regiment was engaged during the battle. There were but few regiments on either side in any battle of the war whose loss in killed, in proportion to the number engaged, equaled that of the 6th Iowa Infantry at Shiloh.

Holmes was promoted to a lieutenancy immediately after the battle of Shiloh. The regiment then participated in the operations incident to the advance upon and siege of Corinth, ending in the evacuation of that stronghold by the enemy May 30, 1862. During June and the latter part of July, 1862, the regiment was engaged in important reconnoitering expeditions in Tennessee and Mississippi, and on July 24 reached Memphis where it was stationed until Nov. 17th, when it started on the expedition of which Vicksburg was the objective point and participated in that campaign until General Grant was compelled to abandon the expedition on account of the capture of his supplies at Holly Springs, Miss.

The regiment was stationed at Grand Junction, Tennessee, during the winter of 1862-1863. ^{It} suffered the usual privations of ^a winter campaign. On June 14th ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~regiment~~ was attached to a Division of the 9th Army Corps and was stationed at Haines Bluff on the Yazoo River at the time of the surrender of Vicksburg, ~~on~~ ^{July} 4, 1863. Immediately after the surrender, it moved to Jackson, Mississippi, and participated in the siege operations there. Colonel Corse in his official report of the conduct of his regiment during the advance upon and siege of Jackson, described in detail the difficulties encountered throughout the entire March, during which the enemy slowly retreated but stubbornly contested every day with the advancing Union Army from the 5th to the 12th of July, when they sullenly withdrew within the strong line of works they had erected around the capital of the state, ~~and~~ leaving outposts ^{however,} ^{to} be encountered and overcome before the main line of workers could be approached. On the 14th, 15th and 16th of July the regiment made a continued reconnoissance in front of the enemy's works, which ended in a brilliant charge upon an outlying force of the enemy and drove them from their advanced position. Col. ^C Corse makes special mention in this report of the conduct of Major Miller and Adjutant Ennis, Captains

Minton and Bashore and Lieutenant Holmes, and adds: "No officer of my command but in some way has rendered himself worthy of honorable mention in some of the affairs during our advance upon Jackson." The loss of the regiment during these operations was 70 officers and men killed and wounded. A congratulatory order was issued by the Division Commander.

In recognition of his bravery in these engagements Lieutenant Holmes was promoted to a Captaincy. Major Gen. Smith who was commander of the division made special mention of his conduct in a special report on July 20th: "Major Stephenson of the 48th Ill. and Capt. Minton of the 6th Iowa, both severely wounded, behaved with conspicuous gallantry, as did Lieutenant George W. Holmes, Co. A. 6th Iowa, who went forward under a murderous fire and carried Captain Minton off the field."

Ten days later Col. Corse of the 6th Iowa recommended the promotion and General Sherman approved it.

Headquarters 6th Iowa Infy.
Camp Sherman, Minn.
July 30, 1863.

"N. B. Baker,
Adj. Gen'l, Iowa.

I respectfully recommend that 2nd Lieut. George W. Holmes, Co. A. be commissioned as Captain of Co. K. 6th Iowa Vol. Inf., Collier resigned, for conspicuous gallantry on the field before Jackson, Minn. on the 16th inst.

Lt. Holmes crossed an open field in the face of two batteries and two regiments of Infantry and with a ^{Captain} ~~sergeant~~ and two privates bore the body of Capt. Minton to a place of safety.

For this act of heroism in connection with his uniform good conduct in the various actions during the advance on Jackson, Miss., I respectfully request that he be transferred and commissioned as above recommended,

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

Jno. M. Corse.

Col. Comdg."

"I approve the within and recommend the promotion asked for for the reasons assigned by Gen. Corse.

W. T. Sherman,
Maj. Gen. Comd."

Before his promotion came he was detailed to take charge of the mounted men of his regiment to do sentry patrolling and police work guarding the civilian population from molestation on one of the fronts of the 4th Division. He had to find the horses and equipment for his men, ^{and one} ~~was~~ given orders to take and impress horses into the service wherever he could find them. He one day rode up to a plantation with some of his men, went to the house and so ingratiated himself with the young lady and her sister by keeping his men in check that he was invited in and had a very pleasant call. He more than suspected ^{that} there was a fine horse hidden away but did not proceed to make too thorough a search. Later he called again once or twice in a friendly way at this home.

Many of the animals were unbroken. One day, mounted on a tall beast, he was going through broken and cut timber land when his horse started on the dead run and nothing would stop him. On he tore through sharp and broken boughs and over stumps but the rider came out unscathed.

no 9
Again he was at the head of a small company of his mounted men when the horse he was riding, a powerful beast, took the bit in his teeth and ran away, leaving his men far out of sight. As he swept on he descried a mounted company of Confederates ahead. What to do he didn't know. Capture seemed inevitable. On he came like a whirlwind raising his sword and shouting to his imaginary men to follow. The Confederates thought a troop was after them and were so stunned ^{that} he grabbed first one and then another by the neck as he passed and dragged them from their saddles. He called on them all to surrender which they were proceeding to do when fortunately his men overtook him and his prisoners. In November, 1863, the regiment fought heroically in the battle of Missionary Ridge, working its way up the steep and entrenched hill. As the *regimental* historian says: "The enemy stubbornly resisted every foot of the

way and slowly and steadily these gallant sons of Iowa continued to climb upward in the face of the death-dealing missiles of their brave and stubborn foe, until at least the crest was gained and the battle won. The gallant Col. Corse was severely wounded.

"The next conspicuous march of the regiment was that December march under the indomitable Sherman to the relief of Burnside's starving troops at Knoxville so graphically described by General Sherman in the following brief extract from his report:

"7 days before we had left our camps on the other side of the Tennessee river with but two days rations, stripped for the fight, with but a single blanket or coat to the man, from myself to the private. We had no provisions save what we gathered from the roadside, but we knew that 12,000 of our comrades were beleaguered in Knoxville, 84 miles distant and must have relief within three days. This was enough. It had to be done."

And it was done. The roads were obstructed and the advance of the Union troops delayed as much as possible, but the enemy finally yielded to the inevitable and the siege was abandoned before Sherman's advance reached Knoxville.

"The regiment rested at Scottsboro, Ala., during the winter of 1864. Here a large number of men re-enlisted. Veterans reassembled after thirty days furlough at Davenport, Iowa, and proceeding to Chattanooga, Tenn., joined the reunited regiment which entered upon the great campaign which ended in the fall of Atlanta and the march to the sea."

Captain Holmes however to his bitter disappointment was not able to serve out the war. His last engagement was the battle of Resaca, Georgia, ^{1864.} May 15. There he served again with conspicuous gallantry. Lieutenant Colonel A. J. Miller, commanding the 6th Iowa reported "My command rejoined the Corps and Div. from veteran furlough, at Chattanooga, Tenn., on 5th May 1864. Nothing of special interest occurred during our march through Snake Creek Gap, nor until we arrived at Resaca, Georgia, where the enemy confronted us in position on the 13th day of May, 1864. My command was here employed principally in skirmishing. Capt. George W. Holmes, Co. K., deserves special mention for the gallant manner in which he moved his ^d ~~command~~ across an open field in face of the enemy."

In this engagement Captain Holmes was ~~employed~~ ^{acting} especially ^{thw} in skirmishing.

Late in the day he became partially cut off and to save his men they spent the night in the bed of a creek under cover ^{and his men} ^{where they} had to lie or stand in the water. Capt. Holmes's active service in the war terminated the next day, an almost fatal attack of illness resulting from exposure during the day and night of May 13th, from which he did not recover for more than a year. It was a bitter disappointment not to go through the war to the end, since he had served so long. He also wanted to follow Sherman to the sea. At the time he was taken sick he was in the line of very rapid promotion.

Returning to Iowa Captain Holmes sought to regain his health, which bore traces of his war experience to the end of his life, and again took up the drug business with the study and practice of medicine in Marion. After several years practice and much illness he went to Bellevue Medical College in New York City. There after an interrupted course he was graduated in March 1871. The following year he settled in Cedar Rapids where he practiced for the next three years, until his appointment as a missionary to Persia. Mrs. Caroline C. Sinclair recalls Dr. Holmes's life in Cedar Rapids and the impression which the purity and simplicity of his character left upon all who knew him.

"Dr. Holmes's residence in Cedar Rapids was so short a time in years, that the strong impress of his Christian character, especially of his devotion and gentleness, prove their sterling worth. He was so modest so retiring, that one had ~~to~~ to know him well to appreciate his worth fully.

"My first acquaintance with Dr. Holmes was when he came to Cedar Rapids in 1872 from Marion the county seat of Linn County about six miles distant.

"Dr. Holmes came with his uncle Dr. Henry Ristine, a physician with a large practice in town and country, of whose family he was counted a much-loved member. My husband and I greeted Dr. Holmes with great gratification, as a Christian physician, for we too were new comers, and he had not yet found a family physician.

"Dr. Holmes and my husband soon found the close bond of fellowship in Christ that bound them together in a friendship only ended here when my husband passed beyond into the presence of the Master they both loved devotedly. The Rev. James Knox was then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, a man full of zeal for missions and under his influence Dr. Holmes decided to offer himself to go as a medical missionary to China. After correspondence with Dr. Ellinwood he decided to go to Persia, where at the time the need for a medical man was urgent. I recall the great interest his decision aroused, and the many discussions of those who sympathized with his plans and those who felt that he was turning away from work waiting His doing at home. What servant of God has not to endure such trials in going out to these in need of the gospel in other lands? Before Dr. Holmes left Cedar Rapids in 1893 he married Miss Lizzie Wisner, the daughter of Judge Wisner of Cedar Rapids, and the granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Wisner of Lockport, New York. I remember Miss Wisner telling me that her grandfather often told her he was praying that she might be a missionary - and so these two went forth followed by the prayers of relatives and friends to do a faithful work in Persia. During his short residence in Cedar Rapids at this time he left a deep impression of his earnest, devoted, spirit, and he was valued by many as physician

and friend.

"Mrs. Knox recalls his ministry in a family newly-come to Cedar Rapids whom she had visited as the pastor's wife. One of the children was taken ill and the mother turned to Mrs. Knox for advice as to a physician - She was referred to Dr. Holmes, Mrs. Knox adding to her recommendation of him as a doctor that he was also a Christian!

"In the course of the disease the child was brought very low, and one day the mother said to Dr. Holmes, 'Can you not save my child's life?' 'That said the doctor, is in God's hands but I will do all I can.' 'Well they told me you were a Christian; will you not pray that my dear child's life may be spared?' The good doctor knelt and offered an earnest prayer that if it was God's gracious will, health might be given. He left the mother comforted and the child was restored to health.

"When he returned home on his first furlough, broken in health, there was no sign of diminished ardor ~~for~~ for his great commission. He was still the loyal soldier of the Cross. He counted it, evidently, an honor to serve and, if need be, to suffer for the Master, who laid down His life for the world's redemption. His talks in prayer-meetings and in our homes stirred our hearts for the darkened land of Persia and some of us have never lost the interest then aroused, or made more intelligent."

Dr. Holmes was not the ordinary and traditional type of missionary. And when he offered himself for appointment the mission cause got in him an unusual and rare personality. He would have been the last to recognize or believe this. He was very diffident and self-distrustful, at the same time that he was so competent and so capable of inspiring absolute confidence toward him in all with whom he dealt. ^{Although} He was without a college education, ~~though~~ ^{and} ~~Wabash College~~ ^{gave} given him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1894. It was a well-bestowed honor for he had a mind of unusual freshness and power which respected all that was established but combined with such respect a most attractive and ^{innocent} boldness, and questioning all things sought ^{particularly for the truth} ~~the truth~~. ~~He had a back to the Board from Tunis when he reported his arrival~~

His Six Years in Hamadan

The next three years from July 1889 to 1892 were spent in America. During the winter of 1890-91 he studied at the Post Graduate Medical College in New York City, taking a degree from that institution. Neither Dr. Holmes nor Mrs. Holmes was well and while the position as personal physician to the Crown Prince was still open to him, and he received letters and telegrams urging his return, he did not feel that he could think of going back to Persia until Mrs. Holmes was quite ~~well~~ ^{recovered.} He tried to settle ^{again} accordingly in private practice in Cedar Rapids though with assurance from the Board of his re-appointment as a medical missionary whenever he could go. Mrs. Holmes' health failed steadily and she died on June 26, 1890, and when his marriage to Miss Lucy S. Hale of Minneapolis, sister of Mrs. J. P. Cochran of Urumia, on September 13, 1892, gave assurance of loving and competent care of his two children he was ready for return to his work and sailed from New York on 1892.

His journey back to Persia was one long series of disasters. Indeed a malign fate seemed always to pursue his travels and even his dearest friends ^{with him} dreaded to travel with him, assured that ^{misfortune} would always follow misfortune. They were twenty-one days on an uncomfortable boat from Liverpool to Constantinople, ^{then} ^{on the Black Sea} fourteen days on an unspeakably wretched boat which stopped at ports which it had promised to pass by, three days in quarantine at Batoum, over a week in Tiflis to get straightened out, ^{and} a fortnight in getting from Tiflis to Urumia. A storm in the Black Sea shifted the cargo and soaked all their luggage with oil, utterly ruining their clothing, ^{and} supplies. Dr. Holmes' hand bag with his personal belongings was stolen in Batoum. An incompetent Vice-Consul ruined all prospects of recovering damages from the steamship

company. To complete the impression of a "hoodoo" on any party which went with Dr. Holmes, another party came through without a mishap, which left Constantinople two weeks after him. He writes of this trip:

Batoum, December 9, 1892

"We have been fourteen days on this wretched steamer coming from Constantinople, long enough to cross the Pacific Ocean. We sailed Saturday P.M., November 26th. That night a terrible storm raged on the Black Sea, and after heaving about for ten hours with the screw half the time in the air, and the ship often almost on her beam ends, she was put about and we returned to the Bosphorus where we waited three days for the storm to subside. Since then we have poked along from port to port, waiting four days at Tubizond to unload - almost in sight of our destination. We have had wretched accommodations and everything has been favorable for cholera, which is still prevailing in the Turkish Black Sea ports, as well as here, but so far we have escaped serious sickness. We have lost all our personal baggage, however, the heads of a lot of oil barrels having been stove in during the storm and our trunks were deluged out and in with oil, everything, so far as we have ~~int~~ investigated, being utterly ruined."

Batoum, December 10, 1892.

"We had hardly reached our hotel yesterday before Mr. Wright and family came in. They sailed from Constantinople on Sunday, December 11th and came through in fifty-three hours, the sea being smooth as a pond and quarantine ^{here} ~~being~~ having been raised as they stopped at no intermediate port. They came on the Minquias, the ^{same} best steamer of the line, the Paquet, as that on which we came. Such are the fortunes of travelers."

Urmia, February 18, 1907

"Our journey has been in many ways a calamitous one. I have often called to mind Poe's lines of the 'unhappy master, whom unmerciful disaster followed fast and followed faster,' and wondered when my implacable fate would cease to pursue me. When I wrote you from Batoum we had lost all our baggage and then had let the hope of recovering their value slip through our fingers through the incompetence of our Vice Consul. From Tiflis I wrote you that I was in great anxiety about my wife whose health was so seriously threatened that had it been possible to stop there or to get back to Constantinople without great trouble and expense I should not attempt to go on with the certainty of having to encounter great hardships due to the lateness of the season. We were both of us pretty thoroughly used up in Tiflis. We had to get something to wear as we had nothing left but old clothes hardly fit to wear longer and we had to overhaul our damaged goods and make an effort to have the wash goods freed from oil. We succeeded in using up what little strength Mrs. Holmes had left but did not succeed in saving anything. The oil could not be removed from the woollens and the linens were so stained and spotted as to be worthless. We finally made a start and set out on our journey, Mrs. Holmes' health being somewhat improved, and were ten travelling days getting through to Djulfa, a journey usually requiring four days, besides being detained one day by the snow blockade. At Djulfa letters came from Tabriz asking me to come on there in the hope that I might help them out of their troubles about the closure of the school and Church. But my wife was in danger of another breakdown of her health and I felt that we must go on direct to Oroomiah though Mr. Whipple had come on from Tabriz with a wagon for us. The weather fortunately

was good from Djulfa on to Gavidan and we got on comfortably as might be but at G. Mrs. Holmes was quite ill and had not Dr. Cochran come on with a spring wagon she could not have come on. She has suffered severely from nerve prostration and I have been very anxious about her here lest she might become permanently invalided. She is now, however, thank God, quite out of danger from that cause and will, I hope, soon recover her usual health and tone. She has suffered much from insomnia which still troubles her to some extent but her general health is much improved. Our enforced delays in Constantinople, on the Black Sea, in Tiflis, and on the road have resulted in further heavy expense for men and animals sent to meet us and kept waiting in expectation of our coming. These expenses, like everything else on this fateful journey, are wholly beyond all precedent, and although we are in no sense responsible for their being incurred we have been greatly distressed by them. If we get through to Hamadan without being robbed and stripped of our remaining clothes, we shall consider ourselves fortunate."

The winter was spent in Urumia, helping Dr. Cochran in the medical work and pouring forth, as he always did, a rich evangelistic influence, and then as soon as the roads were passable in the spring for the caravan travel, which alone could go over them in the days ~~long~~ before automobiles, he went on to his new station at Hamadan, arriving on March 23rd.

Hamadan, April 19, 1858.

"Our journey was a very difficult and dangerous one at this time of the year, and I feel thankful that we have accomplished it in comparative safety. Mary has been laid up with a malarial fever, and a severe bronchial trouble most of the time since our arrival, but is now nearly well. Mrs. Holmes is far from well but bore the fatigues of the journey better than I could have expected. We left one man by the way however (our cook) dangerously ill of pneumonia, while the man we

brought on in his place and also our hostler, together with the charvadar the man who brought our loads, were all bitten by the 'malla', a venomous insect which infests the country, and all were very ill before and after their arrival.

"We left Orosniah as early as we dared to do so on account of snow, neither did we dare to wait longer fearing the spring rains would make our journey impossible, and on the whole we chose the best time. We encountered such cold and wind and in crossing the Mantulekh pass at an elevation of probably nine thousand feet we encountered a furious snow storm with high wind, a regular western blizzard, which threatened every moment to block our way and bury us. The snow beneath was soft and treacherous, except for a trail from one to two feet in width, hardened by travel, and our animals were continually falling and with difficulty being restored to the path. Had we lost the road or had we met another caravan, such as we met just before reaching the snow line (a large one), the situation would have been of the extremest gravity as in the latter case our small party would have been thrust off into the snow and left to recover our way as best we might. Many travelers lose their lives in this way every year on these mountains. The journey this way is a very attractive one in the autumn or later in the spring and summer, but at this season no one would hazard the journey with a family a second time. It began to rain soon after our arrival and rained almost continuously for ten days. I find a great contrast in the spiritual aspect of the work between this and Tabriz. That seems to me the hardest field we have almost anywhere."

His work at Hamadan opened auspiciously, and the first incidents were typical of the kind of contacts and service which marked his work always. He writes under date of July 14, 1893:

"I was called to Koordistan to see the Anser e Nizan, who is now Governor General of Koordistan and Kernanshab. Soon after my arrival I sent him my salams by the Secretary of the British Legation, and soon after received a telegram from him asking me to come and saying that an escort would be furnished me. I wrote Mr. Dollar last week some of the details of my visit. Our relations had been a little strained before my departure from Tebriz, owing to Russian intrigues, and I was not quite sure as to his feeling toward me. But this was not long left in doubt. He sent an official to receive me outside the city, and a large deputation to escort me in, sending led horses and his own richly caparisoned Arab for me to ride, and I was received at the castle with military honor and by himself with a warm embrace. During all my stay there I was treated as a distinguished and honored guest. As the Anser is generally considered as the ablest man in Persia, and as he is liable at any time to be called to the highest office, his friendship is worth having, and I was glad to have it so publicly manifested.

"I am very greatly pleased with the change from Tebriz here where the atmosphere is wholly different, both physically and spiritually. This is regarded as a turbulent city, and but recently there were grave fears of a wholesale massacre of the Jews by their Moslem neighbors. But on the other hand there is vastly greater freedom in our work here, many of the higher classes sending their sons and daughters to our schools, and no objection being made to it, a thing impossible in Tebriz, except in a temporary expedient. The schools are well attended and the results unusually satisfactory, so far as I can judge. The Jewish boys are quick and intelligent, and in

their studies take the lead of the Armenians. I found a medical class organized by Dr. Wilson, consisting of two Jewish young men of great promise. Another Jew was added, and a Mussulman, son of the leading Mohammedan physician here, and these all we are together teaching with great satisfaction to ourselves, and profit, I am sure, to them. They all know English, the first two very well, and the Jew we believe to be earnest Christian and full of promise. I have had an exceptional amount of surgical work to do since coming here."

For six years Dr^r Holmes worked in Basra and left an indelible impression on the city. He won the respect and friendship of governors and officials and understood and conformed to the requirements of oriental etiquette. The whole city looked up to him as a man of probity and goodness and courage who would tell the truth and render aid and require justice in all places high and low. He was a bulwark of defence of the people, and especially of the oppressed Jewish and Armenian communities. He carried on scholarly conferences with Jews and Moslems and especially with the Bahais. He was the one competent physician in the province and gave his service without restraint to rich and poor. There was about him a tenderness and sympathy which, with his dignity and repose, gave him unique access to human hearts. "I thought when his hands were on my face as he took the cataracts from my eyes," said an old blind man to whom he gave sight, "that they were the very hands of Christ." He educated a number of young men in his medical class who became the leading native physicians of the city. While a doctor with his local responsibility, he was also a tireless evangelist and believed thoroughly in the work of wide itineration in both the medical and the evangelistic work.

A few extracts from his letters will suffice to illustrate the work of the years:

Hamadan, January 13, 1894
"My visit to Khassabad was quite successful in the immediate object of the visit, viz: the treatment of the patient, and served to cement more strongly an old friendship with the husband of the patient, Hajji Alekhar Khan, General, a wealthy and influential Kaordish Chief. Its spiritual results also were, I trust, of value. I had many long and earnest conversations with him and his retainers, in which the claims of Christ as the Saviour of the world were set forth as best I could. He is, I believe, a sincere seeker after God, and I trust will find the true light that lighteth every man. He promises to send his son, a bright boy, to our school here after a while, on condition that I will afterwards make a physician of him.

"The Conference is finally settled for May 10th to meet at Hamadan. The interest in the subject is increasing among our missionaries, and there is promise of a very profitable meeting."

Hamadan, June 8, 1894

"We were disappointed in the failure of the Conference to meet this spring, but it may be that the delay will be for the best in securing more active cooperation from all parts of the field. I have recently called attention in letters to the West Persia Mission to the urgent need of a Conference such as we have now twice unsuccessfully attempted, for the consideration of some of the problems which confront us and demand a hearing. I have deprecated the tendency towards specialization of our work, to such an extent as to forbid our maintaining an intelligent, and an active and personal interest in the work as a whole. Few of any of these problems can be settled in advance. With most of them we must look for light as we go on, and shape our course in accordance with providential indications. But this does not forbid our thinking

about them, and trying to obtain light upon them. And to think intelligently we must know what our brethren, who are facing the same problems, are thinking about them and what efforts they have made to solve them and with what success.

"For some months we have observed an increasing spirit of inquiry among the Jews here, and a number of their leading men, including several prominent physicians, have met with our missionaries on a stated day, week by week, to discuss the question of the advent of the promised Deliverer of Israel. It was recently reported that a large number of Jews, fifty or more, had made an agreement with each other that in case they found the truth in Christ they would accept of Him. The number is probably greatly exaggerated, but there can be no doubt that it has a basis of fact. Indeed it has attracted so much attention that the leaders of Islam have taken note of it, and two of the principal Jewish physicians, who have been identified with the movement have been called before them, and threatened with persecution if they become Christians. We are earnestly praying that they may all have grace given them to confess Christ and to follow Him in sincerity.

"Our country and our Government have been repeatedly brought into contempt by the character of the men sent here as Ministers to Persia, not to represent us, nor to represent our country, but to pay off political debts. It is disheartening. It is disgraceful. We would be infinitely better off were the Legation abolished and ourselves put under the protection of some government that has self respect enough to maintain a semblance of decency in its diplomatic service. I am intensely in earnest in maintaining that it is the duty of the Board to see that if our Government persist in this suicidal policy, the facts be brought

to the attention of Congress, and the Legation abolished. I believe that all the missionaries would prefer this of the two alternatives though I am writing this on my own responsibility.

"Mr. Benjamin (who, however, I think had the endorsement of the Board) wrote a sensational book loaded with vile gossip concerning the private character of the Sovereign, his family and his court, which naturally greatly incensed the Shah. His immediate successor brought a sensational newspaper correspondent with him to caricature the Government to which he was accredited and himself (the minister) disgusted everybody by his coarseness.

"I have now the chief persecutor of the Jews under professional treatment, and hope to allay some of his prejudices against them and the Christians. The Jewish physicians have asked me to organize a class in physical diagnosis and this I want to do."

In 1896 he took his daughter Mary to Tabriz on her way home to America and wrote from there on May 19, 1896:

"The Shah took his departure for Teheran yesterday, - expects to make the journey in ten days. Of course there was an immense crowd to see him off. Dr. Vanneman and I sat on our horses by the side of the avenue as his carriage went by. He recognized us and bowed twice and saluted. I had another interview with him after your going (the third to that time). He made me sit down immediately before him (on the floor) patted me affectionately on the back, and said I must come to Teheran with him, had me carefully examine his heart, etc. Hakim ul Mulk (the Persian physician) came again and used many arguments to induce me to return to the Shah's service promising that I should have everything my own way and that he and the rest of them would do the hard work for me, etc.

I have long since learned to place little reliance on Persian promises and have no desire to leave the work the Lord has given me to do in Hamadan so long as I have strength to do it. This week the Surur es Saltaneh Khamum, the Shah's favorite wife, who was my friend in the past, sent to inquire for my health, and to say that she wished to see me soon, and asked me to accept the Shah's proposal. She has a young son, born since the Shah's accession, and many think he will be the Wali Ahd, if he lives. I have positively refused to go to Teheran with the harem."

In his report for 1897 he writes:

"The Dispensary has been open continuously throughout the year. The attendance has been usually large, and many patients come from long distances, - five, ten or more days journey, for treatment. A number of surgical operations have been made, some of exceptional gravity. An important feature of the Dispensary service during the past year has been the treatment of victims of the opium habit who are almost as numerous in many parts of Persia as in China.

"The demand for educated physicians keep more than pace with all that all our medical centers can do to qualify them. Mirza who studied with my predecessor, Dr. Alexander, and Saeed, the converted Koord, who afterwards studied a while in England and returned, has had his hands full of practice since, and has recently been invited to go with the family of Ain ed Dowleh (whose wife is daughter of the present Shah) to Teheran, and since his arrival there he has been strongly urged by the prince and princess to remain permanently in their service. And this although he had told them at the outset that he was a Christian and though he unhesitatingly bears joyful testimony at every opportunity to

Christ as the only and all-sufficient Saviour.

"It is a rule with few exceptions in my experience that we find local governors friendly and desirous of complying with reasonable demands. But the real power of even the strongest governor is very limited, and if an offender seeks refuge in the grounds of a mujtahed, he can defy the governor with impunity. There can be no question that the present government is much weaker than the last one and that the power of the priesthood has correspondingly become magnified. We try to keep on pleasant terms with these mujtaheds, as it makes things work much smoother.

"In the latter part of May in company with Mrs. Holmes I set out on a tour intending to include Sivkan, Taserkan, Nahavand, Burujud, ^{ir} Kuzas, ^{sel n} Sattasbed or Arak and Malair. ^Y Owing to the excessive heat and to the distractions on the part of the people due to month of mourning which fell at that time, the tour was abbreviated by leaving our Nahavand and Burujud. Notwithstanding these drawbacks we were beset by great multitudes at every point all of them seeking the healing of the body while but very few cared for the interests of their souls. For these few it was difficult in the midst of the clamor for medical treatment to find an opportunity to have any really profitable conversation and it was always a relief to meet a few individuals by the way-side or in a garden to whom we could tell of Christ and their need of salvation in Him without interruption. I could appreciate, as I had seldom done before, the purpose of our Saviour in so often enjoining on those whom he had healed that they should tell no man.

Doubtless it was sometimes for the same reason that on nearing Hosenabad on Saturday afternoon I strictly charged servants and charvadan that they should let no man know that I was a physician until we should be ready to depart on Monday morning. The result was that we had a very quiet restful sabbath and had most delightful talks with two small companies of men and women in the afternoon in a garden outside the village. Mani, our faithful Nestorian woman, who had been with us for fourteen years continuously accompanied Mrs. Holmes and she was very earnest in making known the way of life in Christ to the poor village women who only knew in some vague way that he was one of the one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets, and as such a sinless person and to be venerated by unbeliefers as well as Christians. Mirza Jamal was very helpful as ever before, but he also was a physician and was listened but perfunctorily to the preaching of the Gospel when their main object is at the very earliest practical moment to catch the eye of the physician and engage his interest in their principal disabilities. The physician should always on evangelistic tour be accompanied by a clerical missionary or by a helper not a physician in order to improve to the fullest extent the opportunities for preaching the Gospel when offered."

Of his last class of Medical students he writes:

Hosnabad, Persia, April 19, 1899.

"On Monday we had the graduating exercises of the 'Medical Class of 1899' at St. Stephen's Church, Mirzas Anwar, Hayeret Hayer, Raheem and Yakob graduating. They all had good theses but Hayeret's on 'Typhoid and Antitoxin,' and Raheem's on the

'Circulation of the Blood' were received best by the audience and they were both very good, Mirza Raheem doing himself great credit.

"The governor came with a large retinue and the church was crowded, many doubtless coming more to see the governor than the graduating class. Yesterday the governor sent me a very eulogistic letter, saying he was sorry he had not known earlier about it as he would have had khalats for each one. He sent a bag containing fifty tomans to enable each one to buy a garment suitable for the conditions. I called on him this evening. He showed me great honor, and when I came away he took me by the hand and walked with me a long way toward the garden gate. I can never understand why it is that every governor I meet shows me so much friendship. This man is a real live governor, much such a man as the Ameer Nizam was when we lived in Tabris. He had sent me a Norus (New Years) present of seventy five tomans only a little while before."

Mrs. Holmes had been obliged by ill-health to return to America in 1898, Dr. Holmes coming with her to England and then going back to Hamadan. It became evident soon that Mrs. Holmes could not wisely return to Persia and Dr. Holmes reluctantly concluded that he must give up his ^{permanently} work. In the fall of 1899 accordingly he came back to America for the last ^{Ten} ~~two~~ years of his life. Mrs. Holmes happily recovered sufficiently for them to set up their home for themselves and the two children, and in later years Mrs. Holmes had to care for him as much as he for her, and though she seemed much more frail than he, she has survived him these twenty-four years. During their last years ^{in America} together they lived chiefly in Wellesley, Massachusetts, and Doonton, New Jersey.

His Mystical Vision

Dr. Helias came to his work with nothing but the most practical training - the training first of a soldier and then of a doctor, but he was of a rarely meditative and introspective type and his last two years, as we shall see, were the story of a soul played upon by alternate sunlight and shadow. During his years in Persia, also, there were deep successive and interpenetrative moods. Whether in his work in his station or on the long horse back journeys in the country, his mind would be rapt away in speculation in philosophy and religion like Henry Martyn's as he journeyed through ^{these some} ~~the same~~ regions, and again and again he was as one no longer in the body, as, wholly conscious and riding ^{over} ~~across~~ the mountains, his spirit was lifted into great visions.

One of these he regarded as the greatest and most real experience of his life. It occurred in 1898 in the little village of Varseh in western Persia. He wrote of it in 1908 as follows, accompanying a revised version of the vision:

Boonton, N.J., May 19, 1908

"In view of much with which you are acquainted that has occurred in my spiritual experience during the nearly ten years that have elapsed since Varseh, it may not be inappropriate for me to say to you that I look upon that event as the most real fact of my life. This opinion, - rather should I say, this conviction, grows more strong as the deeper meanings of the vision unfold themselves through the years. That its significance is yet exhausted, I cannot believe."

The vision occurred on his journey in October 1838 to Hamden from London where he had come to see Mrs. Holmes of to America. The account of the circumstances as he gave them out was as follows:

"A short time before my leaving London for Paris, in October 1838, the word of Habakkuk II^d 3, came to me on a sudden unexpectedly, and impressed me so strongly that I tried to look them up, but could not find them even in the aid of the Oxford Bible; my own satisfactory comprehension. "The Lord is in His holy temple; let all that hear keep silence before Him." They occurred to my mind in a vision, during the remainder of my stay in London, and during my journey to Hamden. I meditated much upon them, and felt that they contained a reproach to me, who had permitted the world to occupy my thoughts to an extent dishonoring to Him who sat in the temple of my heart and on whose presence I had permitted many thoughts to intrude with which I had occupied my mind during my stay in London, to an undue degree. I was also led to meditate much on Deut. 32:19, - "These things which are revealed by me to us and to our children.... that we may do all the words of the Lord."

"On my way I read and meditated much on the scriptures, and read through with great interest, John Wilkinson's book 'Israel my Glory'. I set out on my overland journey to Hamden, stopping over the Sabbath at Bull Mill, Mass., after six days' journey, during which I had confined my reading and meditation wholly to the scriptures, and the subject of the Kingdom of God. I had to an unusual degree sought to keep my mind free from all secular topics, and to make my heart the dwelling of the Lord Jesus. The fifteenth Chapter of John was much in my thoughts during this time.

"At Veroch during the Sabbath rest, I thought much concerning the work I should take up in Hamden, being desirous to utilize my possibly very brief remaining opportunities for work, to the best advantage for the interests of the Kingdom of God.

It has long been my purpose to utilize the insight I had gained into the doctrines of Bahá'ism, in preparing a tract for circulation among the Jews of Hamadan, in the hope of at least checking their tendency to give up the light they possessed, for so perfidious and deceitful a faith as that of Bahá'ism, a revival of the Gnostic faiths which so bitterly opposed the teaching of Christ in the early days of Christianity. But I did not feel free to do so properly to deal with the objection, nor was I quite sure that all my associates would approve of the line of argument which I had adopted in my discussions with the apostles of that faith in Hamadan. I had been impressed in reading John Willinson's book, with the frequency with which he had asked a sign of God, as an indication of His will in regard to contemplated undertakings, and with the answers thereto, and I determined to ask God's direction in the matter before me, in a different way from what I had ever adopted before. I knelt down and asked that God would graciously show me His will concerning the matter in question, and that in it His purpose that I should undertake that work, He would either put it into my heart to ask for some special sign, or else that He would Himself give me a sign of His own choosing, which I might clearly understand, and that this sign should be vouchsafed to me on the present journey, or on my way in Hamadan, six days' journey distant.

"At the same time I prayed that Christ would abide in my heart according to His manifold promises in John 15 and elsewhere, and I said, 'I have the warrant in thine own words, O Lord, for believing, that my prayer, which is the prayer of faith, is already answered, and that thou dost at this moment occupy my heart as thy dwelling place.' And I quoted Mark 11, 14. While I was yet speaking these words in prayer, I realized that Christ, the Lord of Glory, had presented Himself at the portals of my heart, attended by a vast multitude of the heavenly host."

The full detailed story of his experience was as follows:

"I had been travelling several weeks continuously, and had, accompanied by my cook and hostler, stopped for the Sabbath rest, at the little mountain village

of Varsch. During all this time prayer and meditation on the word of God had occupied almost my entire leisure time. I had been oppressed by the thought that my work in the past had been unfruitful of good, and I was anxiously considering whether or not I should take up, in connection with my other duties, a new line of work which had strongly appealed to me for some time. Not long before, in reading an account of a successful evangelistic work among the Jews, I was impressed by the frequency with which the author had asked, and as he believed obtained, a sign from God, directing him in cases of doubt. For the first time in my life I determined to ask for a definite sign, that I might know the will of God in this matter. I knelt down and asked of God that if it was his will that I should undertake the work in question he would either put it into my heart to ask for some special sign, or else that he would himself give me a sign of his own choosing, which I might clearly understand. I asked also that I might have, if consistent with the will of God, an answer to my prayer before my arrival at the destination of my present journey, six days journey distant. At the same time I felt moved to ask that Christ would manifest his presence to my consciousness. I said 'I have the warrant in thine own words, O Lord, for believing that my prayer of faith is already answered,' and I quoted Mark 11:24, 'All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them.'

(Revised Version)

While I was speaking the announcement came to me in some impersonal way, as if by the voices of children in the street, that the Lord was at hand. In my thought I hurried into the street, and there, adjoining the house in which I lodged, and opening directly on the street, at a point where the line of the street cut deeply into the lot, I saw a low, narrow, squalid, mud hotel, which I intuitively recognized as my own heart, the impersonal representative of myself, the temple of God, within which I had invited him to manifest his presence. And as I looked I saw the Lord of glory, attended by a great and glorious retinue, coming down the

narrow street and turning in directly in front of the door of my heart. All were magnificently mounted, and apparently the Lord was expecting to find room for himself and all his train in the hovel, whose door would hardly admit a child standing upright. I saw myself present in a second personality, as a deeply interested spectator, but as I realized how mean and narrow was the place which I had invited the Lord ^{Jesus} to occupy as my guest I was filled with shame, and I ran before the Lord and called at the gate of my heart, in the words of the Psalmist, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors: And the King of Glory shall come in.' And as the Lord drew nigh the low and forbidding gateway gave place in an instant to a lofty portal, through whose amplitude of archway I looked in as the Lord passed through with his train. I saw the interior of a magnificent temple, already grand and spacious, since the Lord had entered, but each moment growing more grand and more spacious, until it seemed to have a wideness 'like the wideness of the sea', and the glory of its interior was beyond description. But as I entered the gates, following the cavalcade, and feeling myself to be an insignificant atom in the midst of all these glories, I felt that, not yet was the temple worthy of Him who had graciously come to hallow it with His presence, and I repeated, again and again, the sublime invocation of the 24th Psalm. But strangely enough, I felt irresistibly constrained to join with it the apostrophe to the soul in 'The Chambered Nautilus':

'Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll;
Leave thy low-vaulted past;
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,' &

I saw no incongruity in repeating these inspiring lines, even in the very presence chamber of God.

"As I looked again I saw more of the proportions of the stately edifice which the Lord of all the earth had glorified with his presence. Grand and beautiful it was, beyond all effort at description. Yet so vast was it all, with

its great central dome of extraordinary amplitude, and a bewildering succession of arches, galleries, aisles, transepts, chapels, courts, &c., &c., as seeming to have no end. And I saw that all, floors and galleries, yes, even the vast throne itself, were filled with a dense throng of witnesses, each one intently gazing upon the central figure of this wonderful scene. And as I turned to Him, I saw the Lord sitting on the throne in the midst, high and lifted up, and the multitude of the heavenly host in attendance upon Him, - his ministers, 'hearkenin' unto the voice of his word.'

"And then I realized that I was no mere spectator on an occasion so wonderful. I was the unspcakably honored host of the Son of God, who had come as a guest, with so great a retinue, to my humble abode. As his host it was my privilege to render to him my personal service, and at once, without stopping to think anything about my own personal fitness, or of my mean attire, I proceeded through the midst of the waiting multitudes nearest him, straight to the throne where he sat, and, casting myself before my Saviour, I kissed his feet, and out of its fulness, poured out unto him my heart's tribute of gratitude and joy. At once he arose, and signified to me to rise and stand beside him. As I did so the magnificent temple and the great assembly were to me as though they were not, for my whole thought was wrapped up in the contemplation of Him, of whom, and through whom and to whom was the meaning and purpose of all the rest. The multitude about the throne and throughout the temple inclosure was in numbers, countless. I supposed them to be the redeemed saints of earth, but I did not recognize a single face among them all. I indeed, scarcely thought of them, except as beings who served the Lord. Their attention was fixed on Him, as was mine.

"On arising the Lord looked over the assembly, but I heard him speak to no one until he addressed me. His look, doubtless, was quite as expressive to those that waited on him as words/ He then turned to me and said, "Will you go with me

to my garden?' I gladly assented and walked by his side down the steps of the throne and through the midst of the great throng of servitors, to a little door at an interior angle of the temple. The door was shut, and I fancied it was locked, though the Lord did not use a key to open it. It opened into a small court or conservatory in which were growing a number of trees. Most of these were like fruit trees, though they were all small, and few of them, apparently, were bearing. It appeared to be more like a nursery, where immature trees were being cared for, than a pleasure garden worthy of its surroundings.

"The Lord led me at once to a small tree, which I thought very lacking in beauty. It looked something like a wild plum tree, it was but little more than an inch in the diameter of its trunk, and it bore a very few small, plum-like fruits. He plucked one of these and gave it to me to eat, saying as he did so, 'This tree I planted and my Father has carefully tended it. To come often to eat of its fruit, of which we are very fond.' It seemed to me to be a rather insipid fruit, but I said nothing, and the Lord, looking me in the eye with a peculiar expression continued, 'Do you know from what seed I planted this tree?' I had already divined from his manner the truth, for his look was one of great tenderness and love, and it conveyed the faintest suggestion of mystic understanding between us. I replied, 'I suppose it is the fruit of a certain trial in my experience,' the meaning until then failed to interpret. A smile of assent assured me that I had rightly answered. It also confirmed my impression of a mystic relation existing between us which I would be given to understand more fully in the future. I then observed that two other persons were present with us whose coming I had not before noticed, and I think they came in by another door. They were both young in appearance, hardly more than thirty. I immediately recognized them as John and Paul, felt quite at ease with them, and talked familiarly with them, and they with me. I remember quoting something from their own epistles to each of them, but cannot recall what the quotations were, nor anything of the tenor of our conversation. Presently the Lord said to me, looking at me with the

some peculiar expression as before, 'I have other gardens, to which I will take you another day.' Just then I became conscious that my feet were cold, and that I was still on my knees in my Persian lodging place. I was equally conscious of myself standing in the presence of the Lord in the garden. I remember that I was a trifle embarrassed over the question which presented itself to my mind whether the chill in my legs, which now became more pronounced, should be interpreted as an intimation that the interview was terminated, and whether I ought to yield to the impulse of my usual consciousness or not. While this thought was passing, rapidly, through my mind, in an instant I found myself in my room, with my servants waiting at the door to prepare the table for my dinner.

"I do not remember that, at the time, I took any thought about the appearance of Jesus or the apostles, nor as to how they were dressed. But as soon as the vision had passed, I sought to recall, so far as possible, all its details, so that I might lose nothing of their significance. Jesus appeared to be about the age at which he began his earthly ministry, and Paul and myself, as well as John, were apparently about the same age. (Where time has ceased will all distinctions which time has made in the past disappear?) There was a resemblance between the three in their general cast of features, which was, I thought, more Saxon than Jewish in type, and represented the perfection of manly grace and dignity. I had very many times in the past tried to picture to my mind the features of our Lord, always by casting them in a Jewish mold, and I had studied Jewish faces for many years for the type I sought. I had never found it there or elsewhere. But when He revealed himself, how true to me were the words of the Psalmist, 'I shall be satisfied when I awake, with thy likeness.' There was nothing about him but his own innate majesty and grace to indicate who he was, but he needed nothing more. He was, I think, clothed substantially the same as the apostles, though I can

recall nothing of the details of their costumes. I intuitively recognized John and Paul likewise, though the latter looked so very different from all my preconceived ideas of his appearance. It is my impression, as I have later recalled the matter, that the four of us who were together in the conservatory all were attired in the graceful form of Persian dress of the earlier half of the last century. Neither Jesus nor the others had long hair. This would not have been expected in Paul (except by an 'old master'), after reading his opinion of long-haired men. There was never a suggestion of the effeminacy and immaturity of feature, so absurdly, but almost uniformly given to the portraits of Jesus by painters of all schools.

"Dinner was soon announced, and as I sat down to the table the impression made by the vision was so strong, that I felt as if I must return at once to the service of the Lord in his immediate presence. So real did it still seem to me that I was almost at the point of speaking to my servants about what I had seen, and telling them to seek for themselves admission to the temple, and see its glories for themselves. As I began to eat I heard a dervish shouting in the yard. I was trying very hard to hold in my mind as long as possible the glory of the vision, lest it should too quickly fade away, but the voice of the dervish served as a scene shifter to introduce me to another vision, differing widely in some respects from the one I had just witnessed. I still retained a mental picture of the temple architecture almost as vivid as before, but here and there I was startled to see a bit of commonplace Persian construction thrusting itself forward in the place of the other, like the spicules of newly forming ice on the surface of a pool of water. In spite of my utmost efforts mentally to inhibit them, these intruding elements rapidly took shape, and, as in a dissolving view, the glory of the temple, the fitting dwelling ^{place} of the Lord of all the earth, gave place to the familiar features of a Persian caravansarai. But it was a caravansarai in ruins. The foundation and the outer walls were apparently well preserved, for the most part, but all the rest was in an advanced

stage of decay and desolation. The inner walls were in ruins, the roofs, of arched masonry, were everywhere caved in, the arches over doors and windows were broken, the gates were crumbling, every scrap of wood or iron that originally entered into the construction of the building had, with one exception noted below, been carried off by despoilers, the doorway was choked with rubbish, and the earthen floor, which had been the resting place of cattle and sheep, had, after recent rains, been trampled into a deep compact of mud and muck. Anything more forbidding would have been hard to find in all the Shah's dominions. But there was one feature of the building that, for some reason, particularly attracted my attention. It is stated above that all the woodwork had disappeared from the building, but here was a timber, very rotten and very gray which jutted out from some point in the interior of the edifice. This projected partly across the gateway and dipped so low as to endanger the head of a mounted man who should seek to enter. It was perhaps because it so strongly menaced the heads of untary travelers that it was invested with so particular forbidding a character to my mind,

"I had hardly become conscious of the complete transformation of the temple, when I felt, rather than heard the announcement that the Lord of hosts was again approaching. I was dimly conscious that in some way I was myself personally identified with this building, as I had been with the other out of which it had developed, or rather degenerated. I was distressed that the Lord should find me still less prepared to receive him, immediately after so gracious a manifestation of himself as he had just granted to me, and I put forth yet greater efforts to purge my mind of its unworthy guest, and to restore in my thoughts the glories of the temple as before, for the Lord's occupancy. It was all in vain. A great procession, this time mounted on solemn, and elegantly caparisoned camels, with the Lord himself at its head, approached the portals of my heart as before. The nearer the calvacade approached the more wretched and ruinous appeared the building, until, when the

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heavenly company reached the gate, it stood before us all, the most vile and despicable structure of the kind - I might almost say of any kind, - that my eyes had ever beheld. Again I was a wondering spectator, this time apparently unnoticed by any of the actors in the great drama. As the Lord and his retinue passed within the gate, I followed near the head of the procession until the Lord, followed by as much of his train as there was room for, reached the center of the inner, covered court. Then to my wondering eyes was presented another transformation scene of such exquisite beauty and significance as to transform all effort at description. I can only rudely interpret into the common forms of speech the impressions it made upon me. As the Lord halted in the center of the court, I perceived a fine, flaky, golden dust coming down through all the broken arches of the roof, and softly sifting itself over everything in the interior of the building, glinting and shimmering in the mellow light as it fell. Whatever was touched by this golden shower was immediately changed into forms of sweetness and beauty. All the filth of the muddy floor was decomposed, the little pools were filled and made sweet, and speedily the entire floor of the caravansarai was covered with a pavement of gold such as John saw in the New Jerusalem, a pavement as soft and elastic as the richest of Persia's looms could supply, but one which moth or rust could never corrupt.

"I was particularly surprised at the effect of the golden shower on the unsightly beam which I have described above. Instead of its being covered up, or transformed, as expected after seeing what had been done elsewhere by this agent, it was apparently vaporized by contact with the disinfecting dust. It at once began to shrink and in a few minutes entirely disappeared. Then, as I looked, I beheld another great wonder. The building, already quite large, assumed by degrees a height and amplitude approaching, in some measure, that of the temple in the first scene, but it still retained all the features of a caravansarai. Then, throughout the whole vast expanse of wall, domes, arches, etc., now so greatly

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manifestation of Christ to my consciousness. But I was puzzled as to the meaning of the second scene, in which I could discover no relation to the first, and but little to the burden of my prayer. An hour or more had passed when suddenly it flashed on my mind that I had made two separate petitions, and that one of them was for a sign. But my attention had been so absorbed in the answer I had received to the one petition that the other had passed quite out of my mind, so much so, indeed, that for some time I could not recall for what purpose I had asked a sign. Then it all came back to me, and as it did so I began dimly to comprehend a relation between the two events which presently grew definite and clear cut in its outlines.

"I had asked that the sign given might be one that I could understand. The sign having been given, I therefore assumed it as settled that I should interpret it correctly. I also anticipated another manifestation of the Lord's presence at an early date. I understood the first appearance of the Lord as a personal visitation to me. It was designed to teach many important lessons but its ministry was intended for the heart rather than for the reason. The second appearance I understood to relate to the subject about which the sign had been asked. I believed it to foreshadow the ultimate evangelization of Persia, symbolized by the *caravansari*, the *caravans*, etc., and the association of temple and *caravansari* I believed to indicate that the work of evangelization would be accomplished through the instrumentality of Christians of the Jewish race. As the work I had in contemplation was intended **primarily** to reach the Jews of Persia, and next to them the followers of Baha, both Jewish and Moslem, the purpose of the sign seemed reasonably clear.

" Five Years After

"I expected to enjoy the abiding presence of the Lord in my heart after the gracious manifestation of himself to me, as described in the preceding pages. In this I was disappointed. But a short time had elapsed before I felt that my spiritual state was one of as great **zeal** as of old. As time went on I came to think of the vision not as a promise of a closer communion with Christ, and of

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magnified in their proportions, unseen hands laid on, with lightning rapidity, the most artistic decorations,-- mosaics, reliefs, arabesque, and intricate traceries, Saracenic, it appeared, in its character. This was done so rapidly that great areas of finished work appeared in an instant where was bare brick or stone wall.

"In the greatly enlarged area of the building the number of the Lord's attendants did not this time appear to be large. Of them all, I recognized none but him, but I did not approach near his person, and apparently he took no notice of me. The scene soon faded away, and I found myself again alone in my room with my two servants.

*Note: Gold is the only name I can give to this dust. I did not, however, ~~really~~ understand it to be really gold, its properties being infinitely more precious than those possessed by ordinary gold.

"In the first scene of the vision I was conscious only of what I may call my subliminal personality, from its beginning until the moment I felt the chill on my members. Then I became conscious both of the personality concerned with the vision and of that of my everyday life. After that, for a little while the two were at the same time in conscious activity, with the latter dominant. Then, as the second scene was presented, while both personalities were in active and conscious exercise, the vision personality was strongest. All in its province was real, my performance in eating my dinner, and conversing with the servants, seemed to me to have less of the ~~reality~~ elements of reality than the other. I sat at the table, eating and chatting with my servants, and replying to their questions about their daily duties, etc., while at the same time I saw myself looking on at another scene, as different from this as heaven is from earth, and standing in a Presence whose glory filled the universe.

"After finishing my dinner I sat for some time, trying to recall to mind all that I had seen and heard, and to interpret its meaning. The first scene was plainly enough an answer, granted 'while I was speaking,' to the petition I had made for the

greater spiritual power and fruitfulness in ministry to others, but as a preparation for greater trials and a severer discipline than had been my lot in the past. The key note to the first vision was suffering, but suffering which had brought forth fruit. Fruit which, though poor and mean enough to the eye of man, and so disappointing to myself, was yet acceptable and pleasing to God. The vision ended with a promise that the Lord would come again and walk with me in other gardens, where, I hoped, more and better fruit, as my offering to him, might be found. The burden of the second vision was, even more insistently, suffering. The wrecked and ruined caravanserais clearly came forth out of the vanishing temple, and the temple was my own personality.

" Trials came, treading on each other's heels. The work I was doing I had to surrender; the work I had hoped to do proved illusive; all that I had wrought in a long life of activity, whether for Christ or for self, was worse than if it had never been. It was like the wreck of a stately ship, whose sails were torn to ribbons, with her company swept away, her masts gone overboard, her decks stove in, and her hull become a dangerous derelict, threatening destruction to other craft. The peace, and the joy, and the spiritual power I had sought so hopefully, were farther away than at the beginning of my course. A horror of great darkness settled down upon me; I felt myself shut out from the fellowship of Christ; my prayers brought no strength or comfort through months and years. At length doubts assailed me as I questioned the validity of the vision I had witnessed, finding a fancied explanation of most of its phenomena in the functions of the subconsciousness, and from that I was tempted to question whether, the peace and joy of the Christian having been so continuously denied me, it might not, after all, be a delusion; whether, indeed, Christ had power to bestow it. Then came the questionings whether the Father Himself were more than an impersonal essence, whether there were any

guide for lost humanity, my deliverer from the curse of sin, other than the abstract spirit of goodness, bereft of love and of sympathy for the weakling who was unable to maintain the pace it set. Now, at length, I was drawn back into my orbit, and into full allegiance again to the Sun of righteousness, is not relevant to the present narrative, wonderful to my mind as has been the divine interpositions which brought it about.

"The special work, concerning which the sign was asked, has not been accomplished. It may never be done by me. Yet I do not doubt the reality of the vision as from God, nor the validity of the sign. I know of some reasons why the work could not have been done efficiently at an earlier date than the present. Should I die, leaving it undone, I should still, with my present light, believe that I had been commissioned to initiate the undertaking.

"Ten Years After.

"Succeeding years brought continued relief from doubt, but not relief from pain. That became intensified with the lapse of time, as the sense of fellowship with Christ was less and less inspired by the hope of its becoming an abiding living experience. In time doubt threatened again to find a weak point in my armor. But this time I fell back on my own personal experience, and I said, 'Though all that is written, of promise and assurance, prove inapplicable to my case, still I dare not deny that God has borne witness to Himself in my own consciousness. On that testimony I will stand whatever results, and I will wait for Christ's salvation till He come.' This confession brought peace where had been great unrest. It brought with it new conceptions of spiritual truth, and I saw that the highest spiritual life might exist without any medium whatever of expression in the flesh. Also that much of real Christian experience was masked to a great extent, by the physical activities through which it found expression, so that the believer was constantly tempted to seek for the physical sign rather than for the spiritual grace, and prone to confound the one with the other. I was

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given to understand that I must seek no longer for physical expression in any form, being content to possess the spiritual gift under whatever conditions the Spirit Himself imposed. The law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus should make me free from the law of sin and death, the law of the flesh and of ceremonial forms. It was the will of the Spirit that my lamp, newly relighted of Him, should be concealed in an opaque earthen pitcher till his signal should come, if ever, for its light to shine unto others. Henceforth I was to make it my endeavor to live on the plane of the spirit, not on that of the flesh. It was possible that spiritual exaltation might result without being attended with a physical consciousness of joy, at least in the transition period, and until I had gained the power of distinguishing spiritual joy from that associated with certain mental states, induced often by intense absorption in religious exercises, but frequently arising from wholly different conditions. The thrill of the emotions which we call joy is in itself an expression of the spiritual consciousness. It has a certain relation to changes in tension of the abdominal vessels. It may be associated with either mental or spiritual exaltation good or bad in its genesis. But, however induced, its mechanism is physical. Its presence may interrupt, may possibly at times suppress the first faint forth-puttings of higher and more spiritual states, which sometimes require freedom from the distractions even of joy, for their true development.

Reflections such as these reconciled me to the fact of pain,- they hardly served to temper its acuteness. The promise of Christ to again reveal Himself to me, I believed would be fulfilled, and that then the wreck of my life work and of all my highest aspirations would be made new and perfect, as symbolized in the renovation of the caravan-sarai. That symbolic renovation plainly pointed to a future time and another sphere, but the coming of the Lord to my consciousness I hoped would find me yet in the flesh. But I had much yet to learn in the school of pain. It became my constant companion. It greeted me first in the morning

As I awoke, it was last to bid me farewell at night. As the infirmities of age grew upon me I found myself much less responsive to all other influences, but to pain I was more susceptible than at any period of my life.

" One day it occurred to me that this fact might have more significance than I had heretofore attached to it. Why had that note of suffering been so dominant a one in both scenes of the vision? Was it so important that I should know of the suffering that was in store for me, and not that I should know the meaning of the suffering? The physician is not unmindful of the virtues of flagellation in cases of narcotic poisoning to arouse the patient from the lethargy into which he is sinking. Perhaps pain is the only avenue through which Christ can reach and stimulate my spiritual consciousness. What is this hateful presence that I have endured only because I could not shake it off- what if it should turn out to be the herald of His presence? His coming, so long promised, and which I have persistently failed to recognize, and refused to receive? Till quite recently I have supposed the multitudes who came in the retinue of the Lord to be redeemed saints of the earth. All were in human form. I had afterwards thought it strange that I knew none of them. Of late I have been led to look upon them all as impersonations to my mind of the painful experiences it had undergone,- symbols of past mental sufferings, as the fruit tree was the symbol of such suffering in the past, and the caravansarai of suffering yet to come. Whoever, or whatever they were, they served in the vision to contribute to the glory of Him whose train they constituted.

" It had long been a subject of speculation to my mind why the two apostles who were with Jesus and me in the garden should have been John and Paul. They were the leading New Testament writers, both had been granted visions of the Lord after His ascension, and John was one of the inner circle of the disciples during Christ's earthly ministry. But these reasons never seemed to me to be quite adequate. Later I recalled that, in answer to Paul's earnest inquiry, 'Lord, what

wilt thou have me to do?' the Lord had spoken to Ananias concerning him, 'will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.' This corresponded perfectly with my own case. I had asked a sign regarding a work I sought to do for Christ. The sign I received was a symbol of suffering, repeated presently in another symbol of like signification. But I was yet in doubt as to the true meaning of John's presence. On this occasion the words spoken by Jesus concerning John came to mind again and again. 'If I will that he tarry till I come-?' I had often questioned as to why it had been appointed for me to live so long, when to live was only to suffer, and when all my father's house had died so much younger. Now, as the same words again re-urred to me they arrested my attention. In all the details of the vision, suffering had been the dominant note, but the symbols of suffering had been, in every instance, transformed into blessing. The squalid hovel into a stately temple of God: the impersonated multitude of sorrows into the glorious retinue of the Lord of Host (if in this I have interpreted aright); the tree of affliction into fruitage pleasing to His taste; the ruined caravansarai into a building of God, worthy of his majesty and glory. Then I saw why John had come with Paul, for if Paul symbolized suffering, John equally symbolized blessing. 'If I will that he tarry till I come-?'- yes, I knew then why I had tarried so long.

It is not for us to know the times and the seasons. I had asked that, if a sign were given me, it might be in such form that I might readily understand its meaning. God understood better than I the shallowness of my spiritual apprehensions. It required ten years of painful schooling to make me capable of understanding it. Much yet remains to be interpreted, but now I see that, in answer to His promise to me at Varsch, Christ has been coming to me all the time through the years that have passed since then, and that he has been seeking to arouse my consciousness to the fact of his presence. Now

I no more to shut out painful memories when they come, nor merely to endure with fortitude what I cannot cure. Rather do the old forms of pain, which in the past have so distressed my mind, meet now a sincere welcome at my hands. It has been given me to lift but a little corner of the veil, to look into the face of the deep, dark mystery of pain with but a passing glance. I know not what shapes of terror it may hold yet in reserve for me in the future. But now, whenever in the morning I awake to find the old pain waiting at my bedside, I am glad. For I know that the Lord waits just without the door, and that he has come to abide with me all the day.

"There remains one feature of the vision about which more should be said. I refer to the beam of wood that burned without fire, and was consumed. The position of this timber, alone of all the things I saw, aroused my curiosity, as its destruction where everything else was transformed, surprised me. I believed that it symbolized something which it was intended I should understand, but, through all these years it has remained to me a perplexing mystery. In the first place I was at a loss to know how it came to be where it was, and how it was held in place. It seemed to jut out from an interior angle of the wall, downward and forward into the gateway. But that it had been one of the projecting beams of a former penthouse, or porch, belonging perhaps over the entrance to the building, was an idea that took very strong hold of me from the first, and one that is intimately associated with all my later recollections of the event. Its total disappearance also, through its contact with the golden shower, was likewise a matter of great surprise to me. At the time it seemed to have some special meaning, apart from that of the rest of the spectacle. I have thought much about it since that day, but it is only recently that I have been able to form any opinion on the questions on the questions raised by the presence and behaviour of this timber, in the building. This is the conclusion to which I have at length arrived:

"The timber was one of several that were set in the thick wall, over the front

entrance, and which projected far forward to support a penthouse, or porch over the door. Within the entrance was an arched vestibule, the arches resting on brick pillars, joined to the side walls of the vestibule. An earthquake had cracked the wall where the timbers passed through, and made possible the removal of the other timbers. An attempt had been made to take this one away also, but the wreckers, finding they could not draw it through the wall in front, had pushed it backward into the building. In doing this the end of the timber was thrust back through the broken arch of the vestibule, at its base on the wall, where it rested, the other end being drawn back quite through the crevice in the wall, and resting on its inner face. At this point another shake occurred, which piled the bricks of the vestibule arch on that end of the timber, holding it in place, and depressed the free end until it projected into the middle of the entrance. The wreckers were killed or frightened away, and no further effort was made to remove it. The sack from the fires of innumerable pilgrims, stopping for a night in the ruined caravansarai, would account in part for its grimy appearance. Now for its symbolism:

"The current of love flows always forward and outward, - never backward into itself. It puts itself to the front in helpfulness and protection to the objects of its love. The porch projects forward from the gate, and protects all who cross its threshold. It invites the stranger and the homeless to come under its sheltering roof. But with love perverted its current is reversed. It flows no longer outward, but inward; it becomes self-love. Self-love has no proper place in humanity's endowments; it can only find room for itself by dislocating something else from its place. Self-love helps no one, protects no one, adorns nothing; it is ugly and despicable in the eyes of God and man. The timber which should stand out over the gate to protect the coming and the parting guest but which draws itself back clean within the building it had been appointed to guard and to beautify, which finds a place for itself there only by helping to wreck the arch on whose base it rests, and which there becomes a menace and an eyesore to those who seek to enter,-

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a bit of good news,- partly disclosing, and partly withholding intelligence of great personal significance to myself. In the revised narrative given above I eliminated this, as being too crude and inadequate an attempt to translate into the forms of human speech the language of the heart,- the language of Spirit to spirit. Yet after all this interval I can think of nothing more suggestive of the Lord's expression as he spoke those words to me, than the well remembered smile, and the kindling glance of the eye of my friend who in his own character reproduced the spirit of his Master with so rare fidelity. I was impressed with the feeling that the invitation had a deeper meaning than the words themselves conveyed, but that it meant blessing I felt assured. Now I know the meaning of that smile, and that glance of the eye, know that as the fruit trees in the garden symbolized suffering, so here the 'other gardens' also symbolized suffering, but suffering to be transmuted into joy. For as in all the previous instances suffering was transformed into blessing, to have the garden wherein was a tomb is found to be the garden of the resurrection morning- a garden wherein the Lord has risen in his own personality to my consciousness, to abide in me, I trust, with increasing fullness of light and life, forever.

" Postscript.

"I have asked myself many questions during the years that have passed, concerning the events narrated in the foregoing pages. Was the vision anything more than a subjective experience? I do not suppose so. If it was purely spiritual, it must have been subjective. Could it have been otherwise? Was it spiritual, or was it merely an exaltation of the subconsciousness, to be explained in terms of psychology? I agree with Professor James that the only criterion in such cases is the character of the results. The difficulty with this standard is in determining when the results are due. What appears good or bad at first, may appear quite the opposite further on. But in looking back, after an interval of ten years, I cannot doubt that this experience, so profoundly affecting my life for good, was spiritual.

"As to the other states of consciousness, I have tried to reproduce by own

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such a thing fitly symbolizes self-love. Everything else in the building was a product of decay, and could be renewed and glorified. Self-love is a pervert; it is incapable of reformation; it has no function but to be destroyed, root and branch. It is a great surprise and grief to me to discover that this hateful thing has, unconsciously to myself, found a harbor for itself in my heart. But here also, as in all the other instances above mentioned, the curse is transformed into blessing. For to have all my self-love one day eradicated, leaving no vestige of its presence in my character as one of the redeemed, is the gracious, divine promise that I see symbolized in the penthouse timber that burned and was consumed by the golden rain from heaven, that day in the caravan-sarai at Varrah.

"To exhaust a river whose source is in the sea is not an easy task, and I do not expect to discover all the significance of a divine event such as the vision I beheld at Varrah. But I cannot bring these comments to an end without reference to the symbolism of the 'other gardens', spoken of by the Lord. There have been times since then, when, but for the strength given by this vision of God, I must have been crushed under the burdens laid upon me, - times when my sense of responsibility for mistakes in the past, and of inadequacy for the responsibilities of the future assumed proportions that must have proved absolutely overwhelming, but for some such special intervention to prepare me for the trial. The assurance that God had so signally intervened in my behalf stayed my soul at the last, when every other resource had failed. From the first it had been difficult to describe this feature of the vision. The promise was spoken by the Lord rather to my heart than to my ear, and I could never satisfactorily recall the exact words he used, I could only give their sense, with certainty, in this instance. Neither could I describe his manner at that critical moment. In my first draft of the narrative I mentioned that, as the Lord was speaking, he reminded me strongly of a beloved missionary friend, (since then called to be with Jesus), as, with a humorous twinkle of the eye, he at times communicated to me

impressions, but as I read them over I do not think I have succeeded. Whether all I saw was a visualization of the one consciousness, or whether there were two states of consciousness actively in exercise at the same moment I do not know. 'Whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body I cannot tell; God knoweth.' It is better to leave the question where Paul did, with God.

"I have questioned with myself whether, had the vision been of God, I would not have been impressed with a deeper sense of sin, as in the case of Peter, on witnessing the miraculous draft of fishes, that of Isaiah in the temple, etc. Would not sin, rather than suffering, have been the theme? But in my case a profound consciousness of sinfulness of heart had oppressed me for many years. I interpreted the vision of the Lord's coming as a token of forgiveness, of restoration to his favor. Therefore I was glad where before I had been sorrowful. The Spirit works according to the counsel of his own will. That is often very different from our anticipations.

"Self-love may, I think, be fostered in the seeking even of the highest spiritual blessings. We are to seek that Christ abide in us, and we are also to abide in him. To do the one only is to look at all things from the point of view of self; to do the other is to look at all things from the point of view of Christ. Both are necessary, and both are commanded. To obey the one command and neglect the other is to become self-centred; to obey them both is to be Christ centred."

The Practical Missionary

Dr. Holmes had his visions but he was no visionary. There was no missionary in the country who thought more persistently and philosophically about the problems of the work in Persia. His mind, as we shall see, was constantly at work on the apologetic problems involved in the effective presentation of Christ to Moslems, Bahais and Jews, and he was unceasingly reviewing and constructively criticizing his own methods and those of the mission. He was greatly concerned that the Conference of the missionaries should be a true success and should resolutely grapple with the real issues of missionary work in the country. One of the ablest papers presented to the Conference was his on the question "What are the Respective Claims of the Central Station and the Outlying Districts upon the time and energies of the Missionary Forces?" In this paper he made a plea "for the reorganization of the itinerary; the continuous, tenacious, comprehensive evangelization of the entire field and the right relation to this task of church and mission, and the bold and resultful use of the most direct means of evangelization.

He advocated the full evangelistic use of medical work in the station and in itineration, the preparation of competent native doctors who would be self-sustaining; the maintenance of the highest standards of teaching, of character building and of evangelistic influence in schools; persistence and continuity in itineration, the unfeeling use of personal contacts; interest in community welfare and the promotion of sanitation and hygiene, personal piety and love and goodwill in all human relationships.

It will be best to let him speak for himself in letters from Persia and after his return to America;

Hamadan, Persia, December 29, 1898

"How dark the outlook for the Board again this year. I know you are all praying for light and for help from above, and so are we praying. Does God intend that the Church and the Boards shall make this more a work of faith with less of machinery and more of prayer and trust in Him? I am sure you are thinking and praying over this subject earnestly."

Wellesley, Mass., December 19, 1901.

"There is doubtless need of tact and judgment in preaching the word, and not every missionary, otherwise well qualified, is adapted to the work of the itineracy. The methods of our Tabriz brethren (and sisters) in preaching positive truths and avoiding controversy save when forced upon them, I believe to be by far the wisest, at the present stage of the work at any rate. I am glad to believe that Hamadan will soon have a force sufficiently effective in number and in enthusiasm to carry out the plans we have had in view for many years, but which the smallness of our force and other causes have so far largely hindered.

"How so many Christian physicians can go out from our colleges, and be content to struggle for years for recognition amidst the crowd of self seekers, while God has such prizes reserved for those who have eyes to see them and ears to hear His call, is a mystery I can not fathom. If I did not know that the Lord had retired me from active service in the field, I don't think I could be content to stay at home even as I am. Had I youth and health and such an equipment as the medical missionary of today must have, of acquirement and training, the call would not need to be repeated or urged upon me. It seems to me that the rewards for this

present life are far greater in the medical missionary service than any that are of possible attainment at home. Yet if one went for the sake of the reward he would doubtless meet with disappointment."

Wellesley, Mass. , December 31, 1901.

"I wish the evangelistic methods employed by Miss Halliday and Dr. Wright might be more fully carried out in Hamadan as they will be, I feel sure, when they have a larger force of workers. I like the simplicity of their methods, - their having nothing to draw the people but the gospel. Here is a drawback in medical missionary work which I have often deplored. There is usually so much anxiety about gaining the ear of the physician for the story of the bodily ailments, that spiritual themes are put in the background or introduced with ulterior ends in view. The medical work has its place, and a very important place, but it cannot take the place of the kind of quiet personal work such as they are doing so successfully at Goske and Milen."

Wellesley, Mass. July 14, 1902

"In regard to the general question of physicians subordinating their professional equipment to the demands of evangelistic work. I think I may have given you an impression foreign to my own thought. A missionary who is thoroughly grounded in medical science may and should follow every providential leading in the line of evangelistic work. If he proves to be a successful evangelist he becomes a man of great power. If he is found to be lacking or indifferent as to his medical qualifications, it is not unlikely that he has mistaken his calling, and in such case the mistake is very likely to involve also his calling as an evangelist, however well he may begin. The fact is

there is too much drudgery and at the same time too much responsibility about the practice of medicine to allow of its being very largely subordinate to any other calling. Christ did not do this, but made the healing of the sick almost as prominent in his ministry as the preaching of the Kingdom. The man who feels himself unequal to its demands in point of education, will more and more come to feel the sense of its drudgery and to work to escape it., and while the science is rapidly progressing he will retrograde. His failure in turn impairs to an appreciable extent the prestige of his colleagues throughout the entire field.

"Another feature is the injustice to the missionaries who may have to submit to the treatment of a physician whom they consider incompetent."

"I have myself felt so strongly the claims of the evangelistic work that I deliberately sacrificed my professional standing and for thirty years directed all my thoughts and operations into that channel, understanding perfectly that while I might not find success as an evangelist, I was certain to unfit myself for true scientific work as a physician. That the sacrifice failed of its purpose has nothing to do with the merits of the case, but that I made it shows that I have no invincible prejudice against the combination of physician and evangelist.

"In looking over one of your old letters, January 15, 1861, I am reminded that at that time I was rejoicing in a new-born hope. Your prayer that man or devil might not take away my joy, and my prayer to that effect have not been answered. I have gained much, that must not be denied, but the advancing tide of hope broke and receded as has always been the case before, and my strength whatever it may be, is not in the joy of the Lord. At the beginning of this present year I felt that the time had come when I must vindicate God's word in my own ex-

perience, and for six months I have exerted the utmost power of my will to realize what I believed God was waiting to give me, but the tide has receded, and the dammed up waters have found their true level - a little higher it is true than before - O, much higher I hope, but when I look into my heart I know that I have no joy in the Lord, and I wonder if I am as honest as the old Tent-maker in his petition:

"Let this one thing for my atonement plead
That one for two I never did misread."

"So I have concluded that in all that Jesus says about His joy being with us he does not mean that all shall partake of His joy here on earth, and I find refuge for myself in the vision, and the assurance that out of sorrow has come fruitfulness, that in the 'other garden' which He is yet to show me, fruitful trees are maturing which shall perfect their roots in my present sorrows, so that the fellowship denied to the senses may yet prove to have been fulfilled to the spirit."

Wellesley Mass , November 18, 1902.

It is certainly gratifying that the missionaries in Persia feel the need of more men so strongly, even if you are unable to supply all that they ask for. But I often wonder how you can give them as many as you do, when there are such pressing demands from China and Korea to be supplied, and where the converts are so much more ready to take on themselves the responsibilities of disseminating the truth among their own people, than are the Persians of all races. The trouble in Persia is that the native agency has no initiative. To sit down in a village, and preach a little, or teach a little, to make and receive a good many social calls, and to have salary enough to enable them to sustain a proper dignity, is about as far as one in ten or twenty of the native helpers can be induced to go, or to think about going. I wrote a long letter to Mr. Labaree, last summer, suggesting the effort to train the

young men in the colleges into the idea of going out into the country in the capacity of private tutors, in the houses of wealthy Moslems, who would be able, in addition to the mullah who would teach religion and something of the Persian literature, to employ a teacher versed in the learning of the west. If they were prepared to teach French as well as English, there is no doubt in my mind that a great many teachers would find employment in the houses of the village khans, but even without this accomplishment I believe it to be perfectly practicable for a very considerable number of the college graduates to find employment at remunerative salaries in this capacity. If they are true Christians they could, without giving offence, and if in no other way, by the mere force of their consistent Christian life and example, become effective missionaries of the Cross, being living epistles to be known and read of all men. I do not think it is a violent supposition that in such capacity a worthy and able and tactful man might exert a much more profound influence on the community than he could as a salaried preacher or teacher in the same village.

"The salary received by our helpers is indeed a tremendous handicap, in more ways than one. In the first place, it attracts unworthy and mercenary men. 2nd, It provides a comfortable income, with no necessarily exacting duties, and removes the stimulus of the feeling that the retention of the place depends upon the energy and fidelity with which the duty is discharged. Its tendency is therefore toward sloth and a progressive weakening of moral fibre, particularly where the post is isolated, and the incumbent is not often brought into contact with outside spiritual influences. 3rd. The knowledge on the part of the people to whom he ministers that he receives a salary which to them appears very large for the work done, is very apt to give them the impression that he is in it

for pay, and that his spiritual duties are perfunctory, and this feeling necessarily weakens the force of the message he has for them. These reasons are, however, commonplaces, and I need not have repeated them. They do not, however, exhaust the list.

"It has always been my desire, from the beginning of my missionary life to counteract these untoward influences to some extent, by sending trained and consecrated physicians, who would be able to support themselves, while carrying on both the ministry of healing and of the word. Dr. Cochran has, from the beginning of his service, been engaged in a great work of this character, with, in some instances at least, the most happy results. Till I went to Hamadan, mine were unsuccessful. A beginning has, however, been made there, which promises in other hands to accomplish much.

"But why should the medical be the only profession capable of holding up its head and taking care of itself? I believe it is perfectly practicable for our schools to turn out teachers who can do the same thing. Mirza Mooshe, at Kermanshah, could, I have no doubt, easily support himself there as a teacher, if his salary were entirely withdrawn, but he is the kind of a man who can safely be entrusted also, with a salary. One or two of our Hamadan schoolboys have obtained employment in this way as teachers, and if they have not held the appointments long, the reason is more likely to be their own lack of adaptability than anything else. The fact that they secured appointments at all, sustains my contention, and for ought I know, they have kept them. The better class of Persians deplore the intellectual stagnation of their land, and under favoring conditions, in course of time, it might easily become the fad to employ as a private tutor one of the graduates of our schools."

Clifton Springs, New York
April 9, 1908.

"The more I have thought over this matter since Dr. Stead's letter came, the more have I felt that there is an opportunity offered here for a unique kind of missionary work, needing only the unique person found, to make it an extremely valuable new departure in missionary enterprise. In attempting to walk in the footsteps of our Lord as He carried on His earthly ministry the clerical missionary necessarily carries with him, in spite of all efforts to avoid it, largely a foreign atmosphere, and his preaching must be almost entirely to men; the missionary physician must depend largely for success on material instrumentalities, and fails in a large proportion of his efforts to heal the sick; the teacher in the schools has plastic material on which to work, but much of what he accomplishes in the school room is counteracted in the home.

To go into the home, to meet the problem at first hand, to identify oneself with it, as Christ identified Himself with His people when He came to save, to bring His spirit, His love, His patience, and gentleness and charitableness and purity of life into daily and hourly contact with the polluted atmosphere of the home - the unit of measurement of a people's civilization, this most of all imitates the Christ who emptied Himself, this lays the axe at the knot of the tree, cleanses the polluted stream at its fountain head. Given a well trained woman of mature years and with adequate culture and refinement, imbued with the spirit of Christ, and endowed with tact and judgment, she ought in time to exert an influence which would make itself felt far beyond the boundaries of the household in which she makes her home.

"It is difficult to learn a new language after forty, but not impossible, as Miss Halliday's experience shows. To make such a vocation

a true success this difficulty would have to be surmounted, and both the polite and colloquial forms of speech would have to be learned, the better these are acquired the more successful would be the result.

"There would be many trials connected with such a work, and I could advise none to undertake it who is unable to look at the matter as a plain proposition divested entirely of the glamour which would naturally enough gather about it. This is better parted with at the outset than after arrival on the scene. It will demand of her who undertakes it all her courage and fortitude and powers of will, and faith, and if she is devoid of a fair stock of these qualities she should not make the venture.

"Should the family of the Prince remain in Teheran, she would find sympathy and strength in the society of the ladies of our Mission. But the present Prime Minister, who is all powerful, is jealous of this powerful and wealthy prince and would prefer to keep him away from the capital on official duty, as far as possible.

"Mrs. Wilson of Tehris, knows much more about the personal character of the Princess and about her children and those of the concubines, (The Princess is the only wife this being the prerogative of the daughter of the Shah), and the appointments of her household than I do, my acquaintance being principally with the Prince himself. Very likely Mrs. Shea could tell you how Mrs. Wilson was received there. I have no doubt she was always treated with great respect by them all."

Boonton, New Jersey, August 1, 1907

"These things will not be accomplished without persecution, and persecution, if too severe, might temporarily arrest the work or even root it up while it is still in its initial stage. But there is more

danger from undue conservatism than from excess of zeal, and persecution may prove the stimulus that is needed to arouse the faith of many who have not been ready to avow the hope which they have held in secret."

Doan, New Jersey, January 27, 1910.

"I have been reading Dr. Will Shedd's replies to the questions of the World's Conference Committee, which Mrs. Shedd has kindly sent me from Eye, and as you will, I presume, be engaged, part of your time while abroad in Committee work, I am asking Dr. Fulton to send on to you, what I feel constrained to say on a point raised by Dr. Shedd as I have thought that if you were prepared to consider the questions raised at all, you would perhaps like to talk it over with others there. When Dr. Shedd first sent to Princeton he wrote me asking what I thought of his giving special attention to the subject of Islam. I did not think there was any one at the time, in either mission, who could be said to be in any sense an authority on that subject, and I was of course enthusiastic in favor of the plan. But for many years it looked as if he was going to be swamped by the pressure of the local work for the Nestorians. Dr. Cochran's death found him, however, prepared to take up the political end of the work effectively, and the papers he has prepared for the Conference Committee, together with the lectures he delivered on the Oriental Churches and Islam, show that he has a good grasp of the subject.

"Now I have long believed that we ought to have in our Persian work a Missionary at Large, a missionary whose duties were somewhat analogous to those of a bishop in some of the other churches, though with advisory rather than judicial authority. Dr. Shedd points out the need, in these papers, of more unity of effort, and recommends united action through more frequent conferences. That is desirable, but that is not

sufficient. There is too little sense of team work in the two missions, or in the stations of each mission, to make the conferences, if held, productive of much in the way of directing the general forces toward definite ends. I believe in following the lines of least resistance, as I recommended at the Hamadan Conference, but I don't believe in each missionary determining for himself where those lines run, nor that he should let them harmonize with the lines of least resistance in his personal inclinations. There is a vast amount of wasted energy on missionary fields, due to lack of cooperation. There are plenty of reasons for this, which are apparent on the surface. There is so much work to be done, and so few to do it, and for them the work must be apportioned, as far as possible, according to personal aptitudes. Then, with the pressure of the work there is a constant temptation on the part of each worker to undertake more than he can care for, and as a result, he becomes so tied down to his special work, so occupied with detail, that he has neither time nor energy left with which to attempt any study of the work as a whole, and he is satisfied if his brother will keep up his own line of work as best he may, and not bother him too much with its details.

"As a member of the 'Committee ad Interim,' at Tabriz, I found it often very difficult to arrange for an ordinary annual meeting between two stations. Once, I remember, it was on the point of falling through, and a proposition to adopt the previous year's estimates was about to be adopted, when Br' Cochran and I took off our coats and undertook to convince the two stations that annual meeting had other questions to consider in addition to those of estimates. And I remember, also, that it was with the greatest difficulty that Tabriz Station was finally prevailed on to send delegates to the Hamadan Conference.

"So that, unless conditions have greatly changed, Dr. Shedd's proposal of frequent conferences, though this should be adopted, also, is not sufficient to meet the need. Besides the conferences have no permanent executive officer charged with the duty of seeing that its recommendations are really effective.

"Many years ago I had a long talk with Dr. J. H. Shedd on this subject, and we were both agreed that there ought to be enough elasticity in our Presbyterian missionary organization to permit of the appointment of missionary overseers, whose duty should be to visit the different stations and out-stations frequently, to make a careful study of their conditions, their special opportunities, their special difficulties, the special fitness of the helpers, the adaptability of the methods employed to the special needs of the field, etc. etc.

"It might be made the duty of such a 'Missionary at Large' to take up the question of overlapping, as it exists in the Urumia field, to make a thorough study of its genesis and its results. Dr. Shedd had done this very admirably in this paper, but it is only an incidental reference here, to one of many other hindrances. It ought to be worked up in so thorough a way as to shame those home churches out of such unworthy competitions.

"Another very important duty of the Missionary at Large would be to give courses of lectures on the religions of the mission field, and the best methods of meeting them with the gospel message, and of holding conferences at the different stations with the missionaries and helpers, on these subjects, and on mission methods.

"I hope some such plan may approve itself to you, to the Board, and to our missions. It is in line with the economic improvements that are revolutionizing our industrial system, and would, I feel sure, if the right men are found, greatly improve the efficiency of our existing

agencies. I have brought it up with special reference to the needs of our Persian missions, but I do not see why it should be useful in all the other fields of our Board.

"Dr. Shedd would seem to be the man for such a post in Persia, and even if the Board is not prepared for so radical a step as I have outlined, I wish it might be brought about that he could be sent on a tour of visitation of the entire field, to report fully to the Board and the Missions. His long service, his acquaintances with the people from his earliest years, and his qualities of missionary statesmanship, added to his scholarly attainments, would give to his recommendations a weight in the minds of his associates in the work which they would not be likely to accord to any one else."

An Theologian and Philosopher

Dr. Holmes lamented all his days his lack of the background in reading and study of which his conferences with Moslems and Bahais made him aware, but with the exception of only two or three other missionaries in Persia he was the best equipped and most efficient controversialist in ^{the land.} ~~Persia~~. Controversy with him, however, was not polemic. It was companionable and affectionate. He met men on their own ground and entered fully into their fashion of thought, using the arguments which were ^{at the same time} legitimate in his own view and persuasive to them. He read all that he could find on the issues of religion and ethics and philosophy with which he had to deal, criticised it with a free mind and drew from it whatever was serviceable for his work.

One of the questions of greatest interest to him was the Trinity ~~and~~ ⁵ one of the chief stumbling blocks in the way of Mohammedan acceptance of Christianity. He felt sure that there were ways of stating the truth which would conserve the full Christian view and at the same time be less repellent to the Moslem mind than some of the traditional statements. Dr. ^{Potter} ~~Patton~~ of Teheran had written a very useful tract for Moslems entitled, " " and Dr. Holmes was inquiring as to some way of making it yet more effective in its presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity. In his study of the matter he came on Clarke's "Outline of Christian Theology" and writes:

" I have been reading with great delight Clarke's Theology, which you recommended to me some time ago. His statement of the Trinity as three mutually related and dependent modes of being of the one Person of the Godhead, puts into clear definition a thought I have often attempted to give expression to in talking to Mohammedans on the subject.

But I was always hampered by the supposed necessity of preserving the conception of three distinct persons in one essence, a conception that I have never been able to make real to my own mind, and which Clarke says was not included in the original significance of the phrase. I have always found Mohammedans quite ready to accept either a model Trinity, or a Trinity of manifestation, and if our missionaries felt at liberty, with Clarke, to dispense with the idea of three persons in the Godhead, I am sure they would find a great chasm bridged in their presentation of the gospel to Mohammedans. Is Clarke an accepted interpreter of the present faith of the Church?"

Wellesley, Mass., March 12, 1802

"I wish it were possible in an authoritative statement of our faith, such as this when published will be, to admit along with the older formulas, one or other of the later conceptions of the doctrine of the Trinity. No human statement of this doctrine yet made or to be made can be thought of as more than approximate. Philosophic conceptions of truth vary in different periods of time, and, even when themselves unchanged, the forms of statement in which they are clothed become subjected to the influence of change as in the meanings of words, etc. There is good reason for thinking that the word 'person' conveyed a different idea to Athanasius, from that which it signifies at the present day. Sanday, in Hastings Dictionary, says, 'At the period covered by the New Testament there was no such conception in the general mind as 'personality.' The term 'person' was just coming into use through the defining influence of Roman law acting upon popular language..... But a long process

had to be gone through before the idea of personality acquired an exact connotation,' and that process was to a large extent involved in the theological controversies on the subject of the Trinity, the result of which was the formulated doctrine of three Persons in One God, as we have it in what is commonly known as the Athanasian Creed."

"W. N. Clarke in his "Outline of Christian Theology" says 'It is somewhat misleading to speak of 'three persons' in one God. The word 'person,' in its modern sense, differs widely from the Latin word persona, as it was when it was first used in this discussion. Modern thought insists upon the separateness and self-included nature of personality, a conception unknown to antiquity, and if we claim that there are three persons in one God, we cannot wonder if we are understood to mean that there are three full personalities, like three men, - an idea scarcely distinguishable from that of three Gods. The word persona indicated, and should still be understood to indicate, much vaguer distinctions. It corresponds more nearly to the word 'character' as it is used in the drama. In early Christian discussions it was never meant that there were three modernly conceived persons in God, nor can it now be maintained. God, of whom we have spoken as a personal Spirit, has but one personality, in the sense which that word now bears. God is one Person. We maintain this in our argument for theism, and must not deny it in our theology."

"This seems a point too clear and too important to be overlooked, and yet, in the constant use of the phrase "three persons," it is indispensable that we make some effort to keep it steadily in mind. It is largely because we are under the spell of a word, and unconsciously

labor to find three modernly conceived persons in the Godhead, that we find the doctrine of Trinity so difficult."

"Something like this then, we mean by Trinity in God: God is a Person in whose nature there is a threeness that has been expressed in his threefold manifestation." (The italics are mine.)

"It seems to me that thus far we can all agree with Clarke in his definition. It does not deny Personality to each 'Person' of the Godhead, nor does it limit threeness to manifestation. Personally I can go a long way with the Hamilton theologian also in his answer to the question 'What threeness can there be in the nature of a uni-personal God?' It is certainly easier to call it a mystery, and let it rest there. But the conditions requiring the summoning of the Council of Nicaea shows that these things will not rest. It was because men insisted on thinking on this subject and to guide their thinking into safe channels rather than from their own wish to make definitions that led the Fathers to formulate the doctrine of the Trinity. It was then a doctrine which was yet in process of development and so a scientific statement of it could not be made. That process is still in operation. 'The Spirit of truth is still guiding the Church into the truth, and genuine progress in apprehension of truth respecting Father, Son and Holy Spirit is to be expected yet.'

"The answer which Dr. Clarke gives to this question is one which I believe would be acceptable to the candid Mohammedan, and one which we could employ with much less risk of giving rise to misapprehension than in the use of the old formula. That, besides being to most men incomprehensible, and therefore, if accepted, being merely a formula, has been prescribed by their highest religious authority, and has then become impossible of acceptance, so long as that authority is recognized. The statement of Dr. Clarke gives clearly and definitely, though in the simple language of everyday speech, a conception

of the Trinity which most of us have entertained in some shape in our minds, whether or not we have been able to formulate it to our own satisfaction. It is a conception to which I have attempted, vaguely and cursorily enough, to give shape in my own mind, and one to which I have often tried to give expression in meeting the objections of Mohammedans to the doctrine of the Trinity. Had I then been familiar with Clarke's exposition of it, I am sure I could have removed difficulties in the minds of some, for the Persians, at least, revolt from the idea of God as 'an abstract self-identity, a sterile monotonous simplicity,' and are predisposed to conceive of him as 'a unity rich in distinctions and perfections, the unity of an infinite fulness of life and love.' Is it not possible to draw them out from the sphere of dogmatic or metaphysical discussion of this doctrine, to a ground where we can meet on a common basis and discover a common point of view? If we can find this common ground in Dr. Clarke's theory of the Trinity, I believe we shall find a great chasm bridged, which has heretofore prevented multitudes of sincere Moslems from gaining that nearness of approach to Christ which is necessary, if they are to behold Him from one point of vantage. The difficulty lies in trying to condense into a few sentences suitable for a conversational statement, which to be effective should be brief and concise in form, the argument of Dr. Clarke, which occupies nearly twenty pages of his book. It is in substance as follows:

"If such names as Father and Son rest upon any reality, the reality must be this, that God is in some manner forever reproducing Himself within Himself, that he utters Himself into reality by action that is eternal, and necessary to his nature. We find hints of this in the mind of man. This is made in the likeness of God and nothing that is totally foreign to the action of mind as we know it in ourselves, can be permanently recognized as natural to the perfect mind. Does man then, in his mental action, in any manner reproduce himself?

The fundamental state of a personal spirit is self-consciousness, -- which is the consciousness of a person as himself. Perfect self-consciousness is complete consciousness of all that the self is and contains. The fuller and truer the mental reproduction of the real self, and the more vivid the recognition of it as identical with the self that thinks, the richer and more perfect is the resulting self-consciousness.

"This identity is never perfect in man because self-consciousness is never perfect, but in God, who is the perfect Mind, it must exist so perfectly that He will reproduce Himself in thought, and recognize the reproduction as identical with the mind that thought it forth. Personality in God would seem to imply this interior action, a conscious personal God must project himself in thought before Himself, and know as himself that which then stands before him.

"There is an aspect of his being in which he is simply and purely God, there is an aspect in which he is God, uttered or going forth (Manifested, as the Bahá'ís would say), and there is an aspect in which he is God recognizing and resting in Himself in the completeness of His being. These three essentials of self-consciousness may well be real to Him, as they are not to men, and when we think of the perfect Being, it does not seem impossible that, to Him each of these should be a center of conscious life and activity, and that He should live in each a life corresponding to its quality. The assertion that He lives such a threefold life, is the assertion of the divine Trinity. First in order of thought, though not of time, is God original and unuttered (unmanifested); then God going forth (manifested); then God returning into Himself in unity. These three modes of being are not shadowy and transient, but real, abiding, and eternal. They are not personalities in the modern sense of the term, but are separate aspects of one personality.

An analogy is hinted at between these three modes of being and the powers of intellect, affection and will, in the constitution of a personal spirit (or of man). The First in God, though including all fullness, is most profoundly affectional, the Second in God, though it reveals the affectional, is most profoundly the rational and wise. The Third in God, corresponds to that executive and effective power which we call the will. God the eternal heart of love, Christ, the rational expression of the eternal heart, and the Spirit, the accomplisher of the work of both, make up the Godhead.

"Such in brief is the conception of the Trinity as presented by the author in his Outline of Theology, pp. 162-181, mostly in his own words. He goes on to show how this view differs from Trithelism and from a modal Trinity of manifestation, which simply sees one God thrice expressed. Dr. Clarke does not give a name to this view of the Trinity. I should call it a Trinity of Relation.

"I have myself always avoided the discussion of this and kindred questions when possible, preferring to make prominent Christ's office of Saviour of the world, rather than the interior relations of the Godhead. But we ought not to shrink from giving a reason for the faith that is in us when reasons are demanded, and one that will satisfy our own reasoning faculty can alone be expected to satisfy others. And if a Mohammedan tells me that he cannot conceive of three persons existing in a sense differing from that pertaining to three individuals, I must confess to having always been troubled by the same difficulty. The faculty of abstract thought implies a definite stage of mental development and most of us cannot get on without the help of the concrete. This need it seems to me is reasonably

supplied in the view of the Trinity outlined above. As commonly taught the doctrine of the Trinity appears to the Moslem to be dishonoring to God and necessarily false, and so the Koran teaches him. We tell him there is nothing inconsistent in it with his own belief in the unity of God but that he must accept the reconciliation not as a matter of reason but of faith. But foundations for faith is the thing he is seeking. These we should assist him to lay on Christ himself, not on a name which as yet is not the Name to him, and to do this we should seek to remove every hindrance to his coming to Christ and knowing Him as God.

"I like the general definition of sin, as the placing of self will or selfishness above the claims of love and duty, to which I would add "as expressed in the character of God," better than that given in the confession of faith. The Beha' holds it a sin to disobey the will of Beha though it abrogate all moral obligations. We ought to obey God's will, not because He has infinite power to compel obedience, but because His will is the reflection of His holy character. We tell him there is nothing inconsistent in it with his own belief in the unity of God but that he must accept the reconciliation, not as a matter of reason but of faith. But foundations for faith are the things he is seeking. These we should help him to lay on Christ himself. The name by which He is called, which to us signifies so much, which to us is the Name, has to him as yet the character of a polytheistic symbol. While we diminish nothing of our zeal in proclaiming salvation in the name of Christ, let us at the same time do all in our power to divest it of the false conceptions which the old phraseology almost necessarily conveys to the minds of Mohammedans trained as they have been to think of us as claiming for Christ a partnership with another god whom we call the Father.

"The general definition of sin as placing self-will or selfishness above

the claims of love and duty, as manifested in the character of God, is, I think, a truer one for the Moslem or Baháe, than the definition in the catechisms. We ought to obey God, because His will is the expression of His righteous character, not because He has power to compel obedience. To the Baháe the will of God is arbitrary, not necessarily ethical in character, and it must be obeyed unhesitatingly, even though obedience compel the violation of the plainest and universally accepted dictates of the moral law. We should not make use of a definition which makes room for such a choice between religion and ethics. "Conformity to the will of God," to the Baháe, is conformity to assassination and falsehood, and readiness to conform, as one of the Baháe apostles said to me, to incest should Bahá command it. After all this leaves the Baháe free to appeal to the character of his master as the standard of obligation. Must we not at last fall back upon the witness to the sanctions of the moral law of the Spirit of Christ whom the Father hath sent into our hearts, and the perfect example which Christ has given in His life and ministry of the fulfillment of that law, and do not these two witnesses together, rather than either of them separately, the Word and the Spirit, constitute our final authority in matters of faith? This does not require us to institute any comparison between the characters of Christ and Bahá nor of Christ and Mohammed. I have always avoided such questions, the consequence of which would only be to lead the others to palliate, and eventually to deify the worst deeds of their spiritual fathers.

Not only did he work on the problem of presenting the Trinity to Moslems but he planned and partly completed a manuscript entitled "God Manifest in the Flesh" of which the following was the outline:

GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH

* * *

INTRODUCTION

Reasons for writing the book
 Currents of Religious Thought in Persia
 The Point of View.

CHAPTER I

REVELATION AND NATURE WORSHIP

The Protevangelium

CHAPTER II

JUDAISM AND POLYTHEISM

The Messianic Hope

CHAPTER III

JUDAISM AND PANTHEISM

Making void the work of God.

CHAPTER IV.

THEISM AND PANTHEISM

"The World by Wisdom Knew not God"

CHAPTER V.

CONFLICT OF CHRISTIANITY AND PANTHEISM

"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."

CHAPTER VI.

CONFLICT OF ISLAM WITH PANTHEISM

An equatorial current in the progress of religious thought

CHAPTER VII

SUFIISM

An irruption of Hindu mysticism in the fold of Islam

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CHAPTER VIII

SHIAISM

The witness of Islam to man's need of the Incarnation

CHAPTER IX.

ISMAILISM

A recrudescence of Pantheism

CHAPTER X.

BHAISM

An apotheosis of man

"Ye shall be as gods."

CHAPTER XI.

CHRISTIANITY

"The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me
free from the law of sin and death."

APPENDIX

He was greatly interested in William James's "Varieties of Religious
Experience" and "Pragmatism" and wrote of the latter:

Boonton, New Jersey, February 26, 1908

"That only is true for us which was already true in itself, as you say,
but is there not also a sense in which that which does not find us, is
not true to us. It may be our own fault that it does not find us,
our own fault that it is untrue to us. I believe that every soul has
an individual relation to Christ, and that there is one string in each
heart that can only be touched by Him. If the individual leaves that
string unstrung or suffers it to get out of tune with the harmonies of

the choir invisible, no touch can evoke heavenly music, though the hand be that of the Divine Harper only. And are we not in danger of putting ourselves out of tune with the Infinite when, in place of seeking the fullest development of our own individuality, we seek to conform it too closely to the life of believers as a whole? Surely the Spirit works in us also through the instrumentality of others, and thus our individuality is harmonized with that of the body of Christ, but should we not seek most to know what it is that he speaks to us as individuals? And thuse shall we not be best fitted to do our part in the work of the organism as a whole? In this sense, I think it possible that what is true to one individual may not be true to another, not because it is not true in itself but because the other is unable to appropriate it in that particular form, as different plants select their food from the same elements of the soil, but in different combinations.

A serious objection to pragmatism as a test of truth is that it breaks down when new systems of alleged truth are tested by it. These often work apparently very well at the outset, while the germs of evil inherent in them take long periods of time to develop. So it is only of the older systems that we can say whether or not they really work well."

Among his papers is an undated article on "Prayer" written at a time when faith was clear and strong:

PRAYER

"The identification of Christ with our humanity gives to men the unspeakable honor of being associated with the Almighty God in the work

of redemption. Christ calls upon every believer thus to co-operate with him, first, by witness bearing, and, second, by intercession. The subject of prayer is one of the greatest mysteries of godliness, for prayer in the name of Christ like the mystic ladder of his person - revealed by a vision to one early believer, and long after by faith to another, - prayer becomes a means of communication between earth and heaven, and the most of its phenomena are beyond the range of our finite vision (John 1:51; Gen. 28:12). In its exercise the believer enters into personal communion, by the power of the Holy Spirit, with Christ, and through Him with the Father. The conditions attached to the promises concerning prayer require that it shall be made, and that its answer shall be received, by faith. To demand an answer, therefore, of such a character that the physical senses can test and confirm it, is to violate the fundamental conditions of all true prayer. Prayer being a spiritual process its true answer must necessarily be a spiritual answer, even when we pray for material things. If in addition to the spiritual answer a material answer - one that we can test with our senses, - be granted also, that may confirm our faith, but it is not the highest kind of evidence. The material thing we ask for, when its complex elements are reduced to its lowest terms, is our own or some one else's good, but the means we would have employed to attain that end might work evil and not good. If God, therefore, withholds the instrument we would employ for good but grants the good desired through some other instrument, the prayer is truly answered.

"But neither is the Christian justified in thinking his prayer denied, even though he fail to recognise the purely spiritual blessings

for which he asks. How many a prayer has gone up to God for spiritual consolation, for the joy of the Lord to sweeten the daily drudgery of life's experiences, while the heart has grown faint and faith has been put to the test by hope long deferred? And how often have the friends of the disappointed and discouraged seeker after God discovered that while he was waiting and watching for the answer to his prayers, watching for the presence of the Christ in his consciousness, the Christ had already risen, full orb'd, in his character, - how often has he himself become conscious that in many particulars he had attained to a higher plane of Christian experience, that the very power of faith which had prevented his falling by the way, long before disheartened, was an answer to his prayer, that his very power of faith, when thus recognized, was in itself the truest joy.

"Now if Christ has, indeed, in taking upon himself our humanity, really associated us with himself in the work of redemption, in fact, and not merely as a figure of speech, then some one or more human beings must have a share either personally or impersonally, in the redemption of every redeemed soul, for the work of redemption is not wrought on mankind in the mass, but in the individual soul. In Christ's last prayer before his crucifixion he declared that he had accomplished the work of redemption which the Father had committed to him, - his work is a finished work (John 17:4). Once hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself (Heb. 9:26,28; 10:10,12,14; 7:27) man could share with him in this divine sacrifice. But unless man was to be deprived of the exalted dignity that had already been conferred upon him by his Maker, when man was created in the image of God and given the power of moral choice, Christ could not take upon himself the entire work of redeeming sinners. A sinner saved against his own

will is not saved at all. If his will is not saved in harmony with God's will, with the Father's consent of the Holy Spirit, he is not saved; if his will is compelled by the Holy Spirit's power of choice, he has been separated from the Father, his Father, and which then makes him worth saving, - through so tremendous a sacrifice as that which the Son of God has freely offered in order to take a ransom for sinners.

But God has declared a Father's Fatherly office when He is helping to seek out human salvation. Christ has been sent to us to associate man with Himself in order to bring us to the Father. His disciples, he loved them, and He love

an eternal life; (Jn. 4:37), through their prayers, and He loved them, and He love

the Harvest of the Kingdom should be sent forth (Mt. 13:38); and He loved them, and He love

chosen them that they should go and bring forth fruit that shall not perish, that in His name they might receive all power from the Father (Jn. 15:16); We are laborers together with God, declares Paul (I Cor. 3:19); by the foolishness of our preaching God will save them that believe [I Cor. 1:21).

In nothing has Christ made such explicit declarations as in that which relates to the power which He has given to the believer to cooperate with God through prayer. There are conditions. The asking must be in faith, it must be according to the Father's will, it must be in the name of Christ. It must be without vain repetition, i.e., it must be sincere, not mechanical. All four conditions are comprehended in the last one. How may we ask in His name? By appearing before the Father with Christ's authority and truly representing Him in our character, presenting ourselves to the Father in the

same attitude of faith, and love, and truth, and filial obedience and with the same spirit of trustfulness and of fellowship which Christ shows to him, coming to the Father in Christ, through the Spirit. Is it possible for us to do this, is not this in the power of Christ alone? It is possible for us to do this according to our measure, not according to His measure. It is possible for us to do it at all, in any degree, only because it is God which worketh in those who love and obey him, both to will and to do His good pleasure. (Phil. 2:13). To such Christ makes promises so unqualified as almost to stagger our powers of belief. "Whatsoever ye ask, that will I do," "If ye shall ask anything, I will do it," "I have chosen you ... that whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he may give it to you." etc. (John 14:13,14; 15:7,16; 16:23,24; Matt. 7:7).

"In our asking for ourselves Christ accepts a very weak and trembling faith. Man at his best estate is but

'An infant crying in the night;
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.'

But with increasing faith comes increasing power of appropriation, until, to him who has heard the divine call to the ministry of intercession, all things seem possible through Christ their strength. In these higher reaches of experience no wavering is permissible. (Jas. 1:5-8). The faith that removes mountains is a faith that makes no reservations. The thing asked for must be accepted as already accomplished, the confidence we have in our Almighty Friend must not hesitate to receive by faith, considering as already given, the blessing we have sought at his hands. (Mark 11:24 R.V., 1 John 5:14,15). In this Christ himself is our exemplar, as in all things else, for whatever he taught he practiced. It is related of him by one who was

with him that at the grave of Lazarus Jesus stopped before the tomb and, while the body of his friend yet lay therein, he thanked the Father that he had heard his prayer for the raising of the dead man to life. This he did publicly, and with the expressed intent that the people should hear, and should believe that his Father had already answered his prayer. Then he called Lazarus, and the dead arose, and came forth from the grave. (Jn. 11:40,44).

"A noted humorist demonstrated the absurdity of all this by putting into the mouth of a small boy the definition of faith as "Believing something you know isn't true." With a slight modification we might let the definition stand. Believing something as respects the spiritual life, that we know is not true as respects the physical consciousness, believing the promises of God, though every testimony of the senses proclaims them false, believing that God is true, though every man a liar (Rom. 5:4), believing with Abraham that God would make good his promise that in Isaac should his seed be called, and all the families of the earth be blessed, though Isaac give up his life on the altar at God's command, - this is the Christian's faith, and in this faith does he have fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. (1 Jn. 1:3).

"The disciples asked Christ to teach them how to pray, as John had taught his disciples, and He did so. But not in a set form, for on the two recorded occasions on which he taught it to them the forms were different. (Matt. 6: 9-15; ~~Matt~~ Luke 11:2-4). He did not want them to learn a form, but to grasp the principles underlying all forms of true prayer. Thus the first half of the Lord's Prayer has as its object the glory of God, the second half invokes blessings on man, and in it all both ends are sought, for it has been well said that whatever

on earth glorifies God, at the same time blesses men, and whatever truly blesses men glorifies God. In this wonderful model prayer we are taught that God is our Father and also our King, that the first, and a very important office of prayer is worship, recognition of our Father's love, and of his loving care of us as his children, recognition of our Sovereign's glory and honor, and of his protection and provision for us as his subjects. Then we are instructed to make petitions, but not yet for ourselves alone, nor even for those nearest and dearest to us. Before this we must bear on our hearts before him the needs of all mankind, that they may know themselves as his children, and do his will as it is done by the angels who stand before his presence in heaven.

"Could our Lord have given his disciples an object lesson in love, - love to God and love to man, in a more perfect way?

"But we have individual needs, also, each one differing in some respects from those of any other of our Father's children and he is not content that we shall receive from him in the mass, as we receive the sunshine and the rain from heaven which comes to us as a common gift to all. He is the Father of all men, but he ^{is} a personal, individual Father to each one of us. He therefore desires that we shall each one come to him with our own personal wants, and expect to receive individual, personal attention at his hands, that we shall feel our dependence on him for our daily bread, for our protection from temptation, for our deliverance from the evil that besets at every turn in our pathway. And that we may not forget to forgive our enemies, who, if we have them, are His children also, we are instructed to offer the measure of our own forgiving spirit as the measure according to which we ask to be forgiven by our Father. (Matt. 6:12, 14, 15; Mark 11:25, 26). Christ is the ideal Man, realized on earth by his union with humanity; his church is an ideal brotherhood, as yet unrealized, but in him to be

realized on earth, as, in the form of his redeemed and glorified Bride, it is realized in heaven. We are infinitely below that ideal, our wills are not conformed to God's will, our characters are not transformed into the likeness of Christ. Every day, every hour we need forgiveness for our sins against God, and every time we ask forgiveness, we, in forgiving our enemies, are in our hearts invoking blessings on their heads. Where is found such provision for the needs of sinful men, where in all the history of literature, sacred or secular, can be found such a treasure house of riches as in the few and simple words of this marvellous prayer, a prayer which the youngest child can understand, but which the wisest of mankind can never exhaust, as it compasses man's whole horizon, his duties, his needs, his longings, his ideals of attainment in character and service? For the Church of Christ to fulfil this prayer would be to realize that supreme aspiration of one who lived in the closest and most constant personal intimacy with his risen and ascended Lord. (Eph. 4:11-15). 'And he gave some (to be) apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of ^{the} faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

"And yet this prayer which Christ taught his disciples to use hardly more than enters on the threshold of prayer in its highest expression as employed by Christ himself. It is recorded that much of his time he was engaged in prayer, but never that he asked his Father for forgiveness for himself. He gave much time to communion with his Father, and much to intercession for his disciples, and for them that should believe on him through their word. And that office he still performs

for his people, for it is written, 'He ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him' (Heb. 7:25). He is our Advocate, as is also the Spirit (Jn. 14:16); he is our Mediator of the covenant (Heb. 9:15; 8:6,8; 1 Tim. 2:5), our merciful and faithful High Priest, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people (Heb. 2:17).

"One such prayer has been preserved for us by the Apostle John, - Christ's High priestly prayer of intercession for his disciples, before going forth to his crucifixion (Jn. Ch. 17). As we read these words of our divine Lord and Master, in which he graciously invites us to share with him in communion with his Father, and our Father, we feel that he is taking us with him, as once he took his three chosen disciples, to the Mount of Transfiguration, that we may behold his glory unveiled. And our spirits are hushed with awe as we hear with them the Voice out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.'

"The test of inspiration, as Baha Ullah rightly insists, is that it shall inspire, the test of divinity requires that he who claims to be divine shall himself in every respect be Godlike. Till Jesus was risen from the dead his disciples had but dimly apprehended his transcendent dignity, and at the time they could have had but an imperfect comprehension of the words of that prayer, as recorded in the 17th Chapter of John, words whose full import could not be expressed in human speech. But after that prayer of their Master had been interpreted to their understanding, by the events of the Resurrection morning and of the fifty days that followed, they had a new perspective. They had seen and talked with their risen Lord, again and again; he had lead them out of Bethany, and they had seen him caught up to heaven; they had come under the controlling power of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost,

the Spirit whom their Lord had sent, and had commissioned to bring to their remembrance all things whatsoever that he had said unto them; - in the light of all these wonderful events they could see in that prayer of our Great High Priest, as they could not have done so fully before, the compelling evidence of his filial relation to the Father with whom he stood on terms of so assured equality.

"How divine the harmony of that life, in all that is recorded of its development, as it was lived on earth before their eyes. They knew the story of his sweet and lovable infancy, of the child strong in spirit, and endowed with heavenly grace and wisdom; of his contemplative and engaging youth, concerned already about his Father's business; of the quiet dignity and self-repression of his early manhood, biding in patience his Father's time as he lived the life of an humble artisan in an obscure mountain village. Some of them had witnessed his baptism and had heard the testimony to his messiahship by John, some took to be a prophet; some had heard from his own lips the story of the temptation; all had heard the Sermon on the Mount, in which he laid down the foundation principles of the Kingdom of heaven, which he had come to establish on the earth. And all had had a share in the events with which the three years of his earthly ministry were crowded to the full, and in the training by which the Master had prepared them for taking up his work. Then had come his Transfiguration, his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, his Last Discourse, his trial and crucifixion, his resurrection and ascension, - as they looked back on his life crowded so full of intense activity they saw how beautifully and how completely everything in it all harmonized with the character which he had, by so gradual and almost insensible transitions led them to recognise in himself, as the Son of God. No their eyes were

no longer holden, for the Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father, had come upon them, and now they could see that One who was about to offer up his life that he might take it again, one who saw himself the only begotten of the Father, seated at the right hand of God, - how such a one, and no other could have given utterance to such a prayer.

Many others have professed to be what Christ was, and many prayers have been spoken in his name though not in his spirit, many things have been ventured in the endeavor to imitate his messiahship, but no one has yet ventured to attempt imitating this prayer of Christ, who, standing in the Holy of Holies, was about to offer himself on the altar, a sacrifice for the sins of the people. Never was prayer offered, before or since, in this sin stricken world, so full of significance for man, so rich in every element of hope and promise for the world. To his disciples it brought the conviction that Christ was indeed the Son of God, to all who deny this it became a rock of offence. Some deny that he was crucified, thinking to honor him by making of him a deceiver of the world; some deny his resurrection, making of the greatest event of the world's history merely a matter of words, to be explained away by other words. His virgin birth is denied to him, his miracles are converted into figures of speech, his unique Sonship is resolved into a metaphysical speculation, making him one of many sons, all without a Father. But no one can either deny or allegorize this prayer. It is/standing, unimpeachable witness before all the ages to the fullness and the finality of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus.

"Bahaism, as with all religions, has a large place for prayer, but it has no place for the prayer of the Christian, for it has no basis on which to ground such prayer. The union, in Christ, of the believer with the Father is the foundation of an assurance in prayer which neither Bahaism nor any other religion can supply. The sense of kinship between man and God, the sense of fellowship between the person in the flesh who worships, and the Divine Person in the Spirit, who is the object of his worship, the consciousness that it is not to an atmosphere not to an unknowable and inconceivable essence that he is pouring out his heart's desires, but to an Almighty Friend and Kinsman who is true to every promise, this it is in the life of the Christian that makes of prayer the most real of all his experiences, because it leads him out of the sphere of the things which are seen, which are temporal, into the sphere of the things which are not seen, which are eternal. The Bahai knows himself as a tenant on the estate of an absent sovereign who receives his wages at the hands of a steward; the Christian knows himself as a beloved son, dwelling in his Father's house, clothed in his best robe and for whom is killed the fatted calf, and all that his Father has is his.

"Christ has finished his atoning work for the sin of the world, but he is still at work in the world through his Spirit in the Church in persuading sinners to avail themselves of that finished work and be reconciled to God. The Church is his chosen Bride; he has desired to glorify her, to honor her by sharing so great a work with her, and in thus putting himself under self-limitation for her sake he can only work through her. He is ready to send the Spirit to endow her with power, but he can only do this to the extent to which she, being transformed into his likeness, is able to truly ask in his name.

This he invites her, and urges her to do, promising to reward her richly. The Bride has been slow to realize her high calling, to know herself and her Lord. She has been asleep, narcotized by the allurements of the flesh. Slowly, but surely she is coming to self-consciousness, coming to recognize herself as the chosen one of her Beloved, with a growing consciousness of her power in the Spirit. She is learning how to pray, she is awakening to the call she has received to the ministry of intercession, she hears with a half-conscious wonderment the voice of the Bridegroom calling to her,

'Arise, shine; for thy light has come,
And the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.

.....

And nations shall come to thy light,
And kings to the brightness of thy rising.' (Isa.60:1,3)

And as she begins to take up in earnest the work her Lord has graciously given her to do for him again she hears the Bridegroom's voice, saying,

'Lift up thine eyes round about, and see:
They all gather themselves together, they come to thee;
Thy sons shall come from far,
And thy daughters shall be carried in the arms.' (Isa.60:4)

Then shalt thou see and be radiant,
And thy heart shall thrill and be enlarged;
Because the abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee,
The wealth of the nations shall come unto thee.

Dr. Helmas greatest apologetic work, however, was done in conferences with the Bahais. Behaism is an offshoot from Islam which in its presentation to the west is a pacifistic theism so tolerant as to be comprehensive of everything and exclusive of nothing, but in Persia it has had a quite different aspect. There it has been an esoteric pantheism, ethically hurtful by reason of ^{its} doctrine of legitimate dissimulation, holding no revelation to be final,

hopelessly allegorical and unrealistic. Although more or less disreputable there were nevertheless many men known as Bahai in Hamadan and Dr. Holmes came into close association with them and thoroughly understood their positions or lack of positions and during the last fifteen years of his life in Persia and in America he worked on careful statements setting forth Bahaiism and its doctrines on the one side and the countering Christian positions on the other.

Quotations from some letters will indicate how he was drawn into these discussions and how in later years he was led on to ~~write~~^{plan} a great treatise which would fill in the controversy with Bahaiism the place which Raymond Lull's "Ars Major sine Generalis" filled in the work for Moslems in the thirteenth century:

Wellesley, Mass., January 26, 1900

"I wish you could tell me, ~~whether~~, whether there is any work in English dealing with the question of the Messianic Ideas from the point of view of the Jews before the time of Christ, - the testimony of the Jews as to the Messianic prophecies. A good deal of this is given in Eiderheim (which I hope soon to have from Minneapolis) but not sufficiently in detail to suit my purpose. When Isaiah 53 is, for instance, claimed to have been fulfilled in Jeremiah, it is desirable to have the consensus of Jewish opinion to the contrary, could such be obtained. I wonder that the systematic lives of Christ so commonly ignore this evidence, what there is of it. I have found to my delight a book I have been very anxious to see "Carnaxvans Religion of the Druser," which shows how in a particular instance Bahaiism was anticipated by Habeeb Be amer Allah, the Talerite Caliph, 800 years ago. I created great consternation among the Bahais in Hamadan by telling them of this system but had little documentary evidence then."

Wellesley, Mass. October 30, 1900

"We are enjoying every hour of our life here, which is quiet and restful, ideally so, almost, and which, with all that is within easy reach, would be idyllic were One gracious presence more consciously with us. I have not wholly given up the hope of seeing the mist you speak of, dispelled, for I know it is but a mist, but a mist may hide the mountains as effectually as a demon might do. I have, however, once or twice caught a glimpse through the leaden sky of a realm of light beyond, as it were a window looking into heaven, such as I told you of beholding on my night ride from Tehran. But everything soon fades away, and leaves me perplexed with the mystery why with all my striving, and with all my withholding from striving. I am no nearer my goal. I have read all the helps that have come within my reach. One says to strive, and Christ says strive, and I have strived. Another says 'cease from striving,' and I have abstained from striving, and oftentimes with instantaneous, though always transitory blessing. Christ says, 'If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide,' but how can one have power to keep his commandments save through abiding? Surely I have sought through all these years to keep his commandments, but does ~~not~~ one not feel his inability to do more than to suffer, or even to do that acceptably, so long as the beatific vision is denied him.

"I wish a good man might be found for Hamadan. The Baháns native physician in Hamadan are making a determined effort to break down the faith of the less mature of our young doctors, and they need the support of a wise and skillful physician. Musa, Daniel, Saheem and Assatur, the Armenians, are able to hold their own in their professional work, and the first three are strong in spirit, but the others are weak in both respects, and need the help which a missionary physician could afford, and if that cannot be furnished, they should have such active support from the mission

as shall enable them to weather the storm now beating upon them. All the leading Jewish physicians there are Bahaees. Some of them are quite capable, both in healing the sick and in intrigue. They have the confidence of very many of the prominent men there and I never attempted to disturb that confidence, seeking rather to enlist them as friends, in the effort to reform their practice, than to antagonize them. In this much success has been gained. But the spirit of intolerance inherent in Bahaiism, even more if possible than in Islam, is at work, and now that I am out of the way, they are trying to force these young men back into the fold, (these three had been counted by them as adherents) and to accomplish this, are doing all they can to discredit them as physicians. They were only beginning independent practice when I left them, and they find it uphill work, under the circumstances. They deserve well of us, two of them never having received any salary during their period of study, though freely giving their time and labor, and the other having received only a nominal salary for one or two years. They have now about exhausted their means, and by my leaving are thrown on their own resources while yet unable to stand alone. I had provided for Alirza Yakob as I thought, Dr. Wishard having engaged him for a year in a responsible work at the close of which he would have had prestige and skill which would have given him a good send off, but the sudden death of Dr. Wishard abruptly closed that open door. If Dr. Wishard returns this fall or if another physician goes then he will, I suppose, be needed there. In that case but two will be left, Mayer and Hayem; Mayer will doubtless be needed by Dr. Wilson at Hamadan and I hope he will then be introduced to other work through her instrumentality, which will put him on his feet. In that case Hayem alone would be left. I understand he has gone to Mohavend, in the hope of finding practice there. But if he holds fast to his profession he is going to find the way a thorny one as there are many Bahaees there who are in close touch with the Hamaden men.

"I do not suppose these young men are going to need any help very long. One good client leads to another, and time will doubtless solve the problem if they can hold out long enough. But as I say, they have pretty well exhausted their means in getting ready for work with the expectation that with us to back them they would soon be able to recoup themselves. I propose this; that these young men, whether they be one, two or three, be sent, if prepared to go, to Nchovend, / Bukijund, Bidjar or elsewhere in our field, to locate and to open Mission Dispensaries, receiving for that purpose a supply of medicines for free distribution, or for which but a nominal charge is made, as in Hamadan. Of these they should be required to give account, making monthly reports of persons to whom given, and from whom money was received, so that charges, which will surely be made against them by interested parties, could be easily investigated. Religious services should be held regularly, and the Dispensary made a center for religious work in conversations, distribution of literature, etc. Pretty frequent visits should be made to these places by the missionaries, and also by Mirza Ghannis, the pastor, who should be urged to give more of his time than heretofore to evangelistic work if possible to spare him now from Hamadan, and a stay of several days or weeks should be made in the vicinity to follow up impressions made on those who visit the Dispensary. The latter should be recognized as a Mission Dispensary both on account of its religious influences, and also to add the prestige of the mission to its agent, and thus strengthen his hand, but otherwise the physician should not be much hampered in his work, which should be in all respects except in the name, independent. To enable him to undertake this, he should have a temporary loan of from fifty to one hundred tomans, without interest, to be repaid in small amounts monthly, till cancelled.

"I believe that this scheme will work if it can be carefully superintended, and that it will open up new self-supporting centers of Christian influence, while otherwise these young men are in danger of being discredited, and perhaps dragged back into the slough of Behaism. They will not need help long, but to be of service it must be prompt.

"I say it will succeed, if carefully superintended. The condition applies equally to every form of Christian work in Persia. Once in a long time a man like Mirza Saeed is raised up in Persia, who does not require other direction than the Spirit of God to keep him at work, looking unto Jesus as a sufficient stimulus to effective work. Mirza Massa appears to be another such, and Mirza Israil, as I knew him some years ago, also. But the spirit of our Christian converts in Persia is mercenary, to a degree which must make us all grieve, and which has recently been exemplified in Gulliania and Reuben, and this appears to be the level to which everything gravitates, unless outside influences be frequently brought to bear.

"Now a word concerning the ²Shahess. I was drawn into discussion with their two chief apostles in Hamadan, through an intrigue, and such against my will. A physician who had been coming from time to time himself, asked permission to bring a friend who wished to learn of Christ. Of course he was invited to come. Before he did so I learned that he was a Behaie missionary but I could not well refuse him admission on that account. He did not ask for a public discussion, but on the contrary sought for successive private interviews that we might talk over these matters between ourselves without confusion or disturbance from others. I said I was not a theologian, and tried to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of Mr. Hawkes or Mr. Watson, but it seemed to fall upon me either to take up the

gage or retire from the field, for I had for some time been meeting others of this faith regularly in company with Mr. Hawks. I finally agreed to discuss the questions with him in private, only a few of either side being present, on the following basis. 1st, the standard of authority like the Old and New Testament. 2nd, Scripture to be the interpreter of Scripture, not individual fancy. 3rd, The Scriptures to be interpreted according to its plain and obvious sense, which must be accepted as both literal and spiritual, except when it was plainly intended to be understood only literally, or was plainly figurative or symbolical. 4th, That appealing, as Beha did to the New Testament, in support of his claims, the testimony of the New Testament must be accepted throughout. In the course of the discussion I learned much about the doctrines of Beha which had before been vague. I must say the same in regard to my own faith. I had never been a literalist, but the vaporizing tactics of the Behaees with every text that ran counter to their teachings, made a fog bank of everything, enveloping their antagonist in a haze of fine spun speculations and giving him nothing but mist to strike back at. I insisted on fair-fighting. If they spiritualized Christ's death and resurrection, his miracles and his work, they must also spiritualize his incarnation, and that left no foundation to Beha's claim to be God manifest in the flesh.

"I discovered after some time that they were systematically misrepresenting to their disciples and the public, the character of the discussions, which they could do, owing to their being conducted in private, and that I was represented as having been utterly overthrown in the arguments. I then demanded that the talks should for the future be in public, a thing I had been urging for a long time. They finally yielded, but seeing that they were getting the worst of it, their adherents, as I believe by a pre-arrangement, disturbed the meetings, and finally I was treated with so

great disrespect that I declined to continue the discussions further. We parted, however, pleasantly and amicably. Up to that time all the discussions were conducted in an ironic spirit, and my relation with them continued very friendly.

*I did not intend to take the initiative in publishing an account of the discussions, satisfied as I was that they would deny everything they had admitted, and place me at a disadvantage by charges of fighting men of straw. Now they have come out with their book, the writing of which was what they had in view from the outset. Their unblushing misrepresentations, or perhaps their ingenious misrepresentations have evidently disconcerted our friends, but I would rather meet two men in the open, than one in a thicket, and I am very glad my adversary has written a book. He has the advantage being on his own ground, and among his own people, and I must suffer loss in reputation with them, and probably with some of the missionaries for a time, probably for my life time or longer, but I feel confident that the ultimate result will be good, whether I answer this book or not. I believe that Mirza Musa has the matter in him, written on his heart, and that he and others will be helped by it. Aga Hayez, however, and Mirza Saeed, who heard their statements of the discussions, but did not hear the discussions, were afraid I was being worsted, and so did Mr. Watson, who got his information from the others. Mr. Hawkes, however, with whom I kept in touch through it all, supported me throughout with his endorsement and counsel. I am willing to await the verdict of the future, assured that wisdom is justified of her children. As soon as I can get an abstract of the book from Hamadan, I shall set to work on the answer which I will submit to you, if you have time then to examine it. I shall make it as brief as possible. Meanwhile I hope to begin soon the other little book, a partial syllabus of which I once sent you, a book for the Jews only, referring only incidentally to the teachings of Beha. I should have had this ready before now, had I not

felt compelled to readjust my own views as to the date of much of the Mosaic legislation. Whether I can adjust my theory of the spiritual movement (observable in Jewish history to the new views remains to be seen. They clear up many things hard to be understood from the traditional point of view, but they cannot be utilized in a work of this kind, as they would play into the hands of the H¹⁵hasses, and would be misunderstood by the Jews. I don't suppose I have accepted anything specially so far, as I have not learned such in detail, but I can agree with McConnell that the spiritual movement in the history of the world antedates the record we have of it, and that it is greater and more comprehensive, and more authoritative than the record, therefore that when the two come in conflict, as in some of the accounts of the destruction of the Canaanites, the record must yield precedence to the law of the Spirit written both in the Book and in our hearts. But I can see no way of preserving the Book, according to this theory, except by means of a theory of inspiration very different from the traditional one. I am glad I can see light in this direction, for otherwise I had been between the upper and the nether millstones. I have no doubt it is all clear enough to you whatever your views of inspiration.

"I ought to say that I believed at the time and still believe, that in almost every single instance, the position of the Hahasses was shown by the plain declaration of Scripture to be untenable, not only by the text, but by the general tenor of the Scriptural record. I took the position that the Bible was not simply a body of laws and of precepts, and of history and prophecy, but that it was a living organism, animated by a formative vital principle, that of this organism the written record was the body, and redemption the spirit, that the Law was likewise an organism of which the commands and precepts were the body, and righteousness was the spirit. I was constantly amazed at my readiness in answering the skillful questionings of those men who were well versed in the Old Testament

and I cannot doubt that strength and wisdom were given me for the task.

"I have written a good deal about Baháism. In my opinion it will ere long overrun Persia. As a faith Islam has little vitality among the Persian proper, though as a social fabric it has immense power of resistance. Beha furnished a new incentive to faith, while leaving untouched the social system. It is a persecuting faith, as will plainly appear when it grows stronger. Christianity will have to reckon with it before her conquests are complete.

"I have no hope of going back to Persia. My career there has been somewhat picturesque, perhaps, but I can see little if any good that has been accomplished throughout all these years, if my influence on Mirza Musa, and possibly Mirza Daniel, be excepted. The latter, however, was largely under the influence of Dr. W. and toward the last I could see that I had but a slender hold on him, as was the case with all the other missionaries.

"I have this to ask of you as a friend, that when I die you will stand guard over the pages of our missionary publications, and see that there is no eulogium pronounced upon me then by any ~~too~~ partial friend. This is not spoken in a spirit of great humility, but simply with the feeling that I have, owing to peculiar circumstances been judged by my friends more leniently than I deserve, and I do not want to take a mask with me into the future world. I have not sought position or honors, but I have desired the good will of my immediate friends, beyond my deserts."

Wellesley, Mass., November 19, 1890

"I shall be very glad to have the article you mention, "Christ esteems our Dispositions less than our Wills," when published. But is not our dispositions the product of our wills, and must He not be better pleased with the result than with the means employed to bring it about?"

"The Behaees are a brotherhood. The idea of fellowship is assiduously cultivated by them. They meet constantly from house to house, and show the graces of hospitality in a more than oriental degree. Through these means they touch one of the strongest impulses of the human heart, that which accounts for the multitudes of fraternities among all classes in this country, that which accounts for much of the success of the Episcopalians in the last decade or two in drawing off from the other Churches through church clubs, boys choirs, etc. etc. that which led to so much of the having all things in common in the early Church. Where then is so strong a bond of fellowship an esprit is aroused, such as is found in a military organization which impels men to do and to suffer much that without such a stimulus they would fail to do. One who suffers is a hero in the eyes of the entire circle of those whose good will he cares for, one who dies is a martyr, whose name not alone is canonized, but who confers dignity upon his family. Then many of them have acted under the inspiration of a personal call and commission to a dangerous duty, by the one whom they believe to be God. It is not at all strange that potential martyrs should be found in every community under such circumstances. It is very clear that we missionaries lose immeasurably in our inability to enter into the life of the people more than we do, and to set an example to them of brotherly love and fraternal fellowship, such as our Lord showed in his life on earth. It has ~~in~~ always seemed to me to be the one thing most desirable in our missionary work, and yet the one thing, under our present methods most unattainable. The presence of children in the missionary home, so far as I can see, effectually ban such intercourse, unless the parents are prepared to sacrifice both the health and the morals of their children. And the problem cannot be solved by celibates, men and women. To me it appears insoluble, and yet I do not believe it is insoluble, for if so, Christianity has failed in one of its very highest functions.

"After I last wrote you I received a letter from an old and valued friend, which showed that the request I made of you regarding the biographical notice, was not without reason. He had not written me for a long time, and he made amends for it, by attributing to me a great many virtues and accomplishments which I never possessed and some of which were so conspicuously lacking in me as to make their application to me appear almost ludicrous. I remember seeing a ditty by Charles Lummis, in one of the magazines a few years ago entitled, 'A Halo that don't Fit,' and I have a great shrinking from going down to the grave wearing one of that kind."

Wellesley, Mass. January 12, 1902.

"You ask me about the little book on the Bahais. I have found so much that is contradictory in their teachings that I have come to the conclusion that I must throw aside all I have written about them and set to work and make a new and more thorough study of the system. I have got hold of a good deal of new matter, including four pamphlets by Abba Effendi which Mr. Easton succeeded in borrowing from one of their inquirers, and which I am copying. Also Brown's translation of the 'Tasikk-e-Jadeid', 'the New History', which I had not seen before, and a good deal of which the latter has written in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Also Professor Ross's article in 'Great Religions of the World', and Brown's article in 'Religious Systems of the World,' the two latter being summaries, mainly historical. Brown's article in the latter work, on Sufism, is of great value in this connection. I have recently read an article in the American Journal of Theology by Vatulsky, a Bulgarian who attended the lectures both public and private at Kenesha. It is, I think, in the January number. He has been here at Harvard but has now gone back to Bulgaria. I am very sorry not to have met him here."

"I am afraid I am not now going to have my manuscript ready by the time the party goes to Russia. Mr. Easton writes me that Kheivalla, whose book you have seen, has been discredited by the sect, owing to his refusal to follow Abul Effendi in setting himself up as God, and that Kheivalla has now few followers. Of course all he has written becomes then discredited. The movement is still in flux, and there is no telling what it will ultimately develop."

Boonton, New Jersey
(Received January 9, 1907)

"I am really and truly at work again in the Baha' book, after two or more years in which I have not been able to read anything heavier than a newspaper or magazine article. I threw overboard everything I had written and began anew. It has been like building a pier in the sea which the waves scatter as fast as the work is done. Yet something seems to be coming out of it after all but it is slow and painful work."

Boonton, New Jersey February 23, 1907.

"For three years I was unable to read anything but newspapers. For I was without faith and without faith the universe is a riddle not worth un-raveling. Now I have faith, and I am hungry for the best things in theology, philosophy, psychology, religious history, comparative religion, and Christology, besides the special subjects of Islam, Bahaism, and Judaism. I must vastly broaden my base if I am to do anything about completing the book. So far I have not got hold of the clue, and am here and there blazing a pathway through the jungle by its help. The different sections were at different levels and different angles, and I am continually getting lost in trying to connect them, for my memory is of little or no help to me. It is like the valley of dry bones, all of which are disarticulate and unrelated. Even what I have written represents only the mood of the moment, and much of it belies, as does so much else

that I write, my real sentiments. If I live to give the work shape and direction, so that it becomes a true organism, and not a Frankenstein of patchwork, I shall be only too glad to have you go over it and criticize it both kindly and mercilessly. For unless it passes muster here with wiser heads than mine it will be sure to fail of its object in the field. Should I fall by the wayside before I have accomplished this, I have instructed my wife to destroy all that I have myself written, saving only the memoranda I have collected from others.

"Since you inquire again about the book, I think I will tell you a little of what I am trying to do. They continue calling for it from Hamadan, though not on the part of the missionaries, and I am now at work doing my best to supply the demand. I must, however, do a lot of reading before I can write much more than I have. In response to your request for copy, I am trying to write out an outline of the work that you may get an idea of its drift. I have never yet been able to do this, though I have many, many times attempted it. My mind simply won't work spontaneously in that way. I have only been able to do the work piecemeal, and then try to connect the pieces into a patchwork. I am now trying again and am meeting with more success. The stimulus thus given from without seems to supply a power which is lacking from within. I thought I had it nearly ready, but it has so many erasures and interlineations that I shall have to copy it, which I hope to do Monday. I shall be very glad to have your opinion candidly expressed as to the validity of the reasoning, so far as it goes, and also as to its expediency, even to the extent of requiring if necessary, an entire restatement of the question.

Boonton, New Jersey,
October 31, 1908

"I enclose you three chapters, 'The Doctrine of Man. - The Incarnation,' 'The Doctrine of Man.-The Law of the Spirit', and 'The Doctrine of Immortality'. I do not feel that I have differentiated, that I have been able to express in language the distinctions that are apparent to my own mind, between the conception of the Bahai 'Manifestation' and the Christian conception of the Godman. I hope you can help me to make it clearer:

'I ought not to be sending you these things until I have given an account of the Bahai doctrines. But that I could not do fairly, without first giving an account of the religious conceptions out of which they were generated, and that will take a good while yet to compile. I at last found it possible to cut loose myself, and begin on the main canvas, and I thought it best while the inspiration was with me to paint the picture as I saw it. I could not have done this had I not already prepared a good mental background. But I feel that it is all tentative as yet, and I am uncertain what shape it is going to take in the outcome. It is evident that I shall have to cut out much that I have expected to include in the book, or it will become unwieldy.

"I hope I haven't strayed too far in the direction of philosophy. I want to give an intensely evangelistic tone to the book but we are obliged to meet them on their own ground, as well as on ground of our own choosing."

Boonton, New Jersey, January 12, 1909

"It has occurred to me that pr^o Wisard's book on Persia might be put to excellent service along the same lines if the publishers could see their way to advertise it extensively. As a record of personal

adventure, and of a rich and well-rounded experience of Persian life, extremely well told, it is very interesting, quite apart from its identification with the cause of missions. It ought to arouse an interest, in medical missions at least, among many who would not look into a book appealing more directly to a missionary constituency. The highly appreciative notices of the book in the "Times Saturday Review of Books" and in the "Outlook" would help its sale.

"I wish you would return to me the chapters on Bahaism I sent you. I have decided to recast the book, perhaps entirely to rewrite these chapters, condensing very much, and I hope, putting it into better English. It is, for one thing, too controversial in tone. I have tried to avoid that fault but have not succeeded to my satisfaction. Unless I can make of it a persuasive appeal I shall feel that I have missed my opportunity. Dr. Wisard has not made this mistake. The Outlook says in effect, 'It is evident that he loves the Persians.' No one who does not love them ought to write books for them.

"Another thing I am anxious to do is to write for the Persian of the era that is approaching there, rather than for the immediate present. I must therefore make it harmonize with present day thought at home, or rather it should not antagonize the consensus of Christian thought at home. In recasting it I shall begin with the doctrines of Bahaism, and later on introduce as much of history as the needs require. But it may be that I will write only two or three disconnected monographs on special features of Bahaism (I have changed the spelling of Baha to conform to the method of transliteration adopted by the English speaking Bahais in most of their recent publications).

"At first I felt debarred from calling the attention of others to Dr. Wisard's book, on account of the references to myself in its pages.

But I have concluded that what he has said between the lines about Muzaffar-ed-Deen Shah's judgment, and of the character of his administration furnishes a sufficient antidote to anything appreciative he may have said of my relations with him."

The great book was never finished. With the great mass of material which he had prepared in first or second drafts he left the following Memorandum:

"Should anything happen to prevent my carrying out my purpose of using the materials here gathered in the preparation of a pamphlet on Deism and Christianity I hope at least to get the materials ready for such a work which another may utilize.

"But if these papers should fall into the hands of another to work up, I want it to be understood that they are only material and that I should be unwilling for anything that I myself have written to go into print in its present form. All that I have so far written has been written for my own use not for the public. These things have been in the nature of brief preliminary notes, written out in order to familiarize my mind with the path to be traversed, to test its correctness, to develop its difficulties, to harmonize its contradictions, and to enable me to establish a catena by which to shape its general course. In many places it must leave the surface and be conducted by cutaways of great length and elevation. These must be thoroughly tested at every point before committing to them the precious freight designed to be carried over its lines. All this is done let no one consider any of it fit for publication."

(Signed) George Holmes

New York, April 21, 1907."

It will not be a violation of this charge, however, to present the outline of the book and a statement which he prepared "To the friends who are interested in the study of Bahaism." The outline was as follows:

BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

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1. Reasons for undertaking to write the present work
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3. Bahaism professes to be the Universal Religion.
4. Truth found in every religious system

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2. The Early Greek Poets and their Mythologies.
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CHRISTIANITY.

1. Its central fact the supreme manifestation of God in Jesus Christ.
2. God the personal righteous Father, impersonally and personally revealed in his work and his written word, self revealed in his Son.
3. God revealed as existing, not as a numerical, but as a social unity.
4. God desires to be known by his children and has given them faculties enabling them to know him and to hold communion with him.
5. In communicating his own life to the believer Christ makes it possible for man to enter into filial relations with the Father, to know God, and in loving and obeying him to come into harmony with the divine order.
6. The Divine order, energized by one moral motive - love.
7. Sin is antagonistic to the Divine order, and hateful to God.
8. Christ the Ideal Man
9. The Atonement a Divine Sacrifice to deliver man from sin.
10. The New Birth the entering into vital relations of spiritual life of the believer with Christ - the vine and the branches.
11. The personal resurrection of Christ from the dead; the assurance to the believer on him of a personal immortality with him beyond the grave.
12. The Holy Spirit the living personal Presence of Christ immanent in the world and carrying on Christ's work continuously.
13. Christianity the absolute religion, which meets and satisfies the universal needs of man. It is therefore the ultimate, the final truth of revelation.
14. Union with Christ, and the Divine life in realized by faith, through which the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus makes the sinner free from the law of sin and death, -
15. That Christianity is not a preparatory stage of a fuller and more perfect religion, that its day did not end thirteen hundred years ago, yielding the stage then to Islam, and now more absolutely to Bahá'ism, is demonstrated in the fact that Christianity is making greater conquests today than at any period of its history, and that its spiritual life is on a higher plane than at any period except when it was suffering from the fires of persecution.

The Miracle of Christ

The Resurrection of Christ.

Meiyer with the Essence loses the individual life and adds nothing to the Infinite. The power to praise and serve lost.

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The Sacraments, the symbol of purification and of mystic man with Christ. Love the Fulfilling of the Law. Faith the Spiritual Bond with Christ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DOES BAHAIISM FULFIL CHRISTIANITY?

0. Progressive revelation a dogma of Bahaism
1. Christianity a fulfilment of the Law of Moses.
 2. Christianity a Development of Judaism.
 3. Bahais a development, not of Christianity, but of Islam.
 4. Islam not developed out of Christianity, nor a fulfilment of it.
 5. Bahaism teaches that the Cycle of Christ closed with the appearance of Mohammed, when the Cycle of the Koran began, A.D. 621. Not Bahaism, therefore, but Islam succeeded to the spiritual inheritance directly, Bahaism succeeding only after the Cycle of the Koran closed, A.D. 1844. If the doctrine of spiritual cycles is true, Islam, therefore, and not Bahaism must, in the most direct sense, have fulfilled the Cycle of Christ. The burden of proof is therefore thrown on Bahaism to show in what particulars Islam manifests progress in revelation over Christianity. Reversion to type of Judaism in Islam, and Bahaism's reaction from this toward Christian freedom. Did Mohammed believe himself to be a divine being? Did Mohammed reveal any truth concerning God or man of a higher order than those revealed by Christ and the Hebrew prophets? What truth does Baha reveal for a higher order than Christianity?
 6. At the beginning of the Christian era the world was sunk in moral, spiritual and social degradation and ignorance and was horribly oppressed by political tyrants. That the world has made immense progress in these respects, and in the arts of life which make the conditions of living better is apparent to all men of intelligence. If it is true that these improved conditions are most apparent, indeed almost exclusively found in Christian lands, and of these, in lands where Christianity has been unfettered by alliance with the state, or the domination of a priestly class, then the burden of proof is thrown on Bahaism to explain these wonderful facts consistently with its dogma that the "Day" of Christ passed out of spiritual reckoning thirteen hundred years ago, and that it remains in the world only as a pathetic survival of former glory, the husk from which the kernel has long ago dropped away, and hanging empty on its bough. (See Outlook, Jan. 8, 1910 and Harnack's "What is Christianity").

CHAPTER XIX.

VITAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BAHAIISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. The Law of evolution appealed to by Abdul Baha, requires that the higher product shall have well marked affinities with the form from which it has evolved. If therefore it be shown that the resemblances between the doctrines of Bahaism and those of Christianity are superficial, while their differences are radical, then the burden of proof is thrown on Bahaism to explain those differences in other ways than by a mere verbal "interpretation."

CHAPTER XX .

A UNIVERSAL RELIGION

1. Definition of a universal religion.
2. Many particulars in which Bahaism appears to be in agreement with Christianity
3. Both claim to be universal religions. Christianity makes claim on the ground that it satisfies all spiritual needs of humanity. Bahaism makes claim to a principle of unity which includes all religions in itself.
4. Both teach that there are elements of truth in all religions, and that all truth is of God, wherever found. Bahaism content to discover truth, Christianity makes it effective. One a philosopher's method, the other a Saviour's. Christianity rejoices in truth, wherever found, and seeks to free it from its errors.
5. Both teach that God is One. But the Bahai cannot say this as a positive affirmation, for Bahaism teaches that the Essence is above all comprehension, and only to be described negatively.
6. Only to be affirmed that he is an essence, unknowable. Christianity affirms with bouyant faith the unity of God, his holiness, etc. for Christianity teaches that God is a personal God, who knows and is known.
6. Both teach that God has manifested himself in the flesh in order to reveal himself to men. But in Bahaism this an objective R, as in a mirror, in Christianity a self revelation in his Son, one an educative process, the other a life. Bahaism forbids to any except the Manifestation all knowledge of the invisible God, the Father Almighty, Christianity invites all believers to the fellowship of the Father and of the Son. The Bahai conception of God held by all the heathen nations when Christ came, now confined mostly to India. Christianity teaches that God came in the flesh once, Bahaism says many times. Christianity that he came as a divine eternal personality, Bahaism that he came as a human personality, which, like the body, perishes, though having a divine soul an emanation from the Essence which is eternal.
7. Both teach that Christ is the Son of God. But Bahaism knows him as such only in a metaphysical sense, which applies equally to the prophets, and with great emphasis, to Baha Ullah, the Greatest Name of God.

CHAPTER XXI

VITAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BAHAIISM AND CHRISTIANITY, - CONTINUED

8. THE INCARNATION. The law of the spirit of life. The Incarnation not merely an educative process, but a divine life brought to men, not an outward manifestation, but an inward principle. Many manifestations necessary if object educative, not only if object redemptive. Moses and the prophets. These construed by Bahaiism in a sense different from their plain meaning. How the creeds came to be formulated. Reasons for showing need of a unique Incarnation. John Baptist and Jesus. The Lamb of God. John's doubts. Doctrine of the Atonement beyond his depth. A doctrine unknown to Bahaiism. Difficulty of revealing truth by means of language, even by means of a perfect example. Language imperfect, and easily misinterpreted. A perfect example misunderstood. Revelation by imparting a life. Christ's witness to personality of the Father. The Holy Spirit. An essence conceived of as acting on men as light on plants, by classes, not as individuals.
- 9 THE LAW OF THE SPIRIT OF LIFE IN CHRIST JESUS. The freedom of the children of God and the bondage of the flesh. "It is expedient for you that I go away." Many incarnations, doctrine of, ignores the Atonement. Christ immanent in the world. The method of teaching by Christ antegonized by conception of multiple incarnations.

The paper explanatory of his purpose and summarizing his line of thought, which bears no date, was as follows:

"To the friends who are interested in the study of Babalism:

"As our train on the Canadian Pacific climbed the valley of the Kicking Horse River, in British Columbia, I found myself interested not alone in the fascinations of the mountain torrent hurrying ever downward to the sea, and the grandeur of the mighty mountains which shut in the horizon on every side. I was very curious about the origin of the singular name of the stream, which I learned was given to it on account of an incident connected with the discovery of the pass. Many successful attempts had been made by the engineers of the railroad company to find a practicable passage for the road over the highest range of the Rocky Mountains to Alberta. The engineers had followed up many promising leads but all had proved futile. The hope of a successful issue was growing faint when one day one of the engineers was kicked by a vicious horse, and was picked up for dead by the Indians who accompanied him. They carried his body with them to a distant and hitherto unknown valley, where the engineer recovered consciousness, and soon after, following up the river which flowed through it, he discovered the long sought for pass, and pass and river were named after the horse which had unconsciously rendered so great a service to civilization.

"I have not made sufficient progress in my undertaking to make it my duty to my own mind that, if my life and health are spared, I may look forward to the completion of my task in the not distant future. Until now I have not been able to see my way through to the conclusion with sufficient clearness of vision to permit me to avail myself of the help which my brethren at the front have it in their power to render, and which I have no doubt of their readiness, even in the midst of their

other pressing duties, to contribute if called upon. I should now, however, be glad to have suggestions or criticisms, either in regard to the treatment I have given the subject of Bahaism itself or to that of any of the historical questions which I have brought forward in connection with it. In doing this I will welcome any suggestions, whether as to the introduction of new matter, the cutting out of the old, or as to changes in the form of presentation of the truth. It has been difficult to abbreviate the chapter on Bahaism and Christianity without sacrificing more than was gained by brevity.

"It is due, I think, to my readers that I explain how it comes that one so unfitted for the task as myself should be engaged in the preparation of a work of this character? It has grown out of a series of conversations I had with two Bahai gentlemen in Hasadan, in the years 1904-05, and these conversations came about in this way: One of my medical friends in Hasadan who was a Bahai, requested me to give him some instruction in the teachings of Christ, and I undertook to meet him and a few friends of his at stated times for that purpose. One day this gentleman's brother asked me to make a special appointment for a friend of his who wished to discuss with me the doctrines of Bahaism. I told him that I had no qualifications for such a discussion, that my training was medical, not theological, and that one or another of my ministerial associates would be more satisfactory to his friend. He did not accept this and his request was repeated several times before I consented to see the Bahai missionary, for so he proved to be. He had a very pleasant interview, and another appointment was made, and out of this grew a series of discussions which awakened in my mind a deep interest in the subject. I however declined to engage in metaphysical discussions of religious questions, and it was agreed between us that the range of topics should be restricted to the testimony of the

Old and the New Testaments to the claims of Beha Ullah, and to the validity of the Bahai interpretation of that testimony. After awhile my Bahai friend brought with him an associate in his missionary work, and later the first one made a visit to headquarters at Haifa, leaving the other to continue the discussions. The latter afterwards published a book on the proofs of Bahaism, entitled 'Istikhaliyah'.

"The discussions were always carried on in an irenic spirit on both sides, and I never had to complain of any lack of courtesy on their part. Notwithstanding the limitation of range of the discussions, I acquired a good deal of information in regard to the doctrines of Bahaism from these gentlemen, who were both well informed and skillful controversialists. At that time there was very little, if anything published in English on Bahaism, though Professor Browne had made us fairly well acquainted with Babism. The latter, a stage in the development of Bahaism which had accomplished its mission, and had now, with the Bahais study, more than a historical interest. Facilities for the study of Bahaism as developed along lines of modern philosophic and theosophic speculation, are now much better than they were four or five years ago. In addition to Browne's other books, "A Year Amongst the Persians," "Episode of the Bab", and "A New History of the Bab", he has published a "Literary History of Persia", which comes down only to the time of Firdausi, but which gives much information in regard to the "Ghulat", or "Immoderate Shiists", including the various sects of the "Isma'ili", the source of Babism, Ibrahim Khairallah has published a life of Beha Ullah, and an exposition of his teachings, and Myron H. Phelps has rendered a like service for Abbas Effendi. Ali Kuli Khan has published translations of the "Muja'uz'l-Beheyeh", and the "Ighan", and an important work has just been published by Regna Paul, London,

"Some Answered Questions" (An-Muru'ul-Abha fi Mufayadat Abdul Baha), collected and translated from the Persian of Abdul Baha by Laura Clifford Barney. A series of "Tablets" have been published in English, being translations of letters of Abbas Effendi, expositions, &c. and bearing on the outside the mystic number "99". I am indebted to the courtesy of Rev. F. Z. Easton for an opportunity of copying some of these, which had been loaned him by a friend. There is an article on Bahaism by Paul Carus, in the "Open Court", Chicago, 1904, with a reply in the next number, by Arthur Pillsbury Dodge, a prominent Bahai convert. There are two articles by Rev. S. G. Wilson, D.D., in the Missionary Review of February 1904, and one by Rev. J. H. Shedd, F.D. in the same journal in December 1904, that I have yet seen, and a chapter on "The Religion of the Bab" in Mr. Robert E. Spaer's valuable series of lectures on "Missions and Modern History", the latter being the most comprehensive treatment of the cult from the outside. Various articles of less moment have been published in the periodicals of the day. Broome has an article in Swan Sonnenschein's "Religious Systems of the World", London, 1901, which is disappointing, being almost wholly an account of the Babean. Canon Sell has published a little pamphlet on Babism, which is instructive.

"Translations of portions of the book "Intidjal-yeh", written by Aga Meyer of Hamadan, have been kindly furnished me by my former pupils, Dr. Musa Jacob, and Dr. Daniel Khan, of Hamadan. To the able assistance of the two latter gentlemen in the discussions with my Bahai friends, and to the information supplied by them on frequent occasions, I am very deeply indebted.

"As shown above, my special relation to Bahaism in Hamadan was rather crowded upon me than sought by myself. The writing of the projected book

is a task that I would gladly have relinquished to some one else better qualified for such a duty. I have three reasons for attempting it: first, that no one else has undertaken it, second, that it has presented itself to me as a call of duty, and third, the hope that its adequate treatment of the subject will stimulate some one else to make a no other contribution to meet the emergency.

"The plan of the work takes into consideration the fact that Behaism appeals strongly to the Jews as well as the Moslems of Western Asia, and that in its latest developments it approximates more closely to modern theosophy than to any other of the pantheistic systems of the east or the west. It is this feature which gives it its vogue in this country. A brief sketch is given of primitive revelation up to the Call of Abraham, and of the development of the Messianic hope from the Protoevangelium to John the Baptist. The struggle for existence of monotheism in a world wholly given over to idolatry is depicted, with its vicissitudes. The apostasy of Israel, the prophetic warnings, and the utter destruction of the northern kingdom are depicted. The trial of faith of the prophets is shown in the apparent irreconcilability of the covenanted promises of the Messiah with the dispersal of Israel and the announced and approaching doom of Judah. But they saw a remnant, a holy seed to be spared and restored to their own land. The transformation of a nation was witnessed during the Captivity, the Jews as a nation being forever cured of idolatry. In Babylon the Hebrews came in contact with a new People, the Persians, and a new religion, Zoroastrianism. The promise to Noah that Japheth should be enlarged, and that he should dwell in the tents of Shem is considered. The theistic religions of the world are shown to be all of Semitic origin. Cyrus the founder of the first Aryan world monarchy, is sketched, with an account of the Aryans in their ancestral home and their migrations, and of the Persians.

"The development of the Messianic hope, the "Hedge of the Law", the growth of Rabbinism, traditionalism, allegorical and symbolic systems of interpretation by which the plain and obvious meanings of the scriptures was perverted, is traced, together with an account of Philo and the Alexandrians and their attempt to reconcile the Old Testament with Greek pantheistic philosophy. The theory of the Beha'is but the rejection of the Messiah by the Jews was due to their literal reading of the prophecies is shown to be without a substantial foundation, only one class of prophecies, those relating to his kingship, requiring spiritual interpretation, until after his crucifixion. All the rest were fulfilled literally. It was, on the contrary, the spiritual blindness caused by their false and fanciful interpretations of prophecy that made it impossible for the Jews to recognize their Messiah when he came.

"A Chapter is devoted to an account of the pantheistic conceptions of God and man of the Aryan races of the east and west, the greater emphasis being laid on those features of these philosophies which are conspicuous in Schism, Sufism, and Ismailism. No attention is called to these features as similarities till they are introduced in the chapter on Beha'ism and Christianity. These doctrines include the impersonality of God, the self-existence of matter (considered as of the same substance as God), denial of the persistence of the personal identity of the soul, multiple incarnations of the Divine Essence, reincarnations of the "kurma", or residue of the previous personality in another earthly body, transmigration into the bodies of the lower animals (this doctrine the Beha'is repudiate, though it is held by some of them), asceticism as a means of quenching desire and thus limiting re-incarnation, gaining knowledge, and bringing about absorption in the essence through the extinguishment of self. (The latter applied more definitely to the doctrines of the Sufis than to Beha'ism, but it illustrates an implicit, if not clearly taught doctrine of Beha'ism).

*A chapter is devoted to the subject of "Theism", in which the doctrines common to Christianity, Judaism and Islam are considered. The doctrines of Christianity are briefly treated in another chapter, and then the struggle for existence of Christianity with polytheism, and its conflict with, and triumph over pantheism in its manifold forms of Greek philosophies, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, &c. the two latter being attempts to combine Christianity with pantheism and Judaism in one universal religion, as Behaism is now endeavoring to do. Theosophy as a more recent development of pantheism, appearing in the Kabbalistic formulas of the middle ages, and reaching back to post exilic times; in the speculations of Spinoza, and the mysticism of Boehme, and in its late manifestations in the teachings of Madame Blavatsky, Annie Besant, and the Buddhistic recrudescence of the present time, and its missionary efforts in the West, are treated to some extent in this connection. Evolution as a necessary cosmical process, monism, and hylozoica doctrine probably borrowed from the Stoics, but finding some support in the rather sensational address on consciousness in plants of Francis Darwin, as President of the British Association, this present month of September, 1903, is described.

*In the chapter on Islam a character sketch is given of Abraham, and the fourfold promise made to him, viz., that his name should be made great, that his children should be as the sands of the sea for multitude, that in Isaac should all the families of the earth be blessed, and that Ishmael should become a great nation. I have attempted to show that none of these promises was fulfilled for nearly two thousand years, that now they have all been fulfilled, or are in evident process of fulfillment, that the rise of Islam was not an accident, nor was Ishmael merely a scourge employed by the Lord to chasten his people, as in the case of Babylon

The preservation of Ishmael by the direct interposition of the Almighty, and the promise made to Abraham concerning him, show to my mind that he was to be allotted in the divine purpose, a definite part in the fulfillment of the covenanted promise to Abraham. Ishmael's part in that great consummation has been an unconscious one, but none the less effective. I try to show that the greatly vaunted triumph of the Church in the conversion of Constantine marked rather the beginning of her decline, and that, by the end of the seventh century, she had become so corrupted by the god of this world, in lust for power, in sacerdotalism, and especially in compromises with pantheism and polytheism, (through the influence of New Platonism, Gnosticism, theosophy, Mariolatry, the apotheosis of the saints, the worship of images, the introduction of pagan rites, festivals, &c.) that she was wholly unprepared to enter the lists in a conflict with the pantheism of the east, as she had in the days of her earlier and purer faith met and overthrown. But her Great Commission was still recognized as of binding force, and her missionaries, having gone forth to all the peoples of the west, were gradually working their way to India, to beard the lion of pantheism in his den.

"The outcome of a general movement of Christian propagandism in that direction, under the then existing conditions, must have been the further corruption, and perhaps the extinguishment of the light of Christianity in the fogs and illusions of Hinduism. As Brahmanism swallowed up its daughter Buddhism, by first insalivating her with compromises, after she had grown greater than her mother, so she would, by like measures have swallowed up Christianity, making of it a thing altogether like unto itself.

"It was the divine mission of Islam to avert such a catastrophe, and, by interposing a wedge of steel between the east and the west, to arrest all Christian propaganda in that direction till the Church should rise from the dust, and putting on her beautiful garments of faith, hope and love, should

publish good tidings of good to the east as to the west. The Church of Christ may well say to the sons of Ishmael, in the words of Joseph to his brethren, "As for you, ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive." Ishmael sought to strike at the life of Isaac; he succeeded only in cutting off with the sword his brother's gangrened arm, infected by the poisoned arrows of a common enemy, and in taking the other's place, he received in his own body the shafts aimed at the son of promise. But shall not Ishmael be rewarded and be brought to the light.

"An attempt is made to show that the pantheistic spirit with which Christianity contended from without was with Islam a foe within the citadel; that great hordes of people of polytheistic and pantheistic thought and habit of mind were swept into the fold of Islam by conquest, whose outward conformity to the new faith interfered very little with their cherishing in secret their old beliefs and preserving many of their old practices. Islam thus became early permeated with secret pantheism.

"I endeavor to show that the doctrine of the personal unity and the omnipotence of God, a creed proclaimed with such fervor by the followers of the Prophet, was a doctrine which must have proved peculiarly attractive to the Persians at the time of the conquest by Omar.

"The utter collapse of the state religion on the overthrow of the Persian Monarchy could never have occurred had there been preserved, in the hearts of of the people, a strong faith in its teachings. The Persians were not satisfied with the results of their efforts to overcome sin with the aid of a God who was good, but not omnipotent. They were already prepared, through the teachings of Christian missionaries, to accept a theistic religion not an omnipotent God. They therefore welcomed in Islam a religion that supplied so convincingly the need they recognized in their own religion. I note also the blotting out of Mithraism throughout the Roman Empire, by Christianity,

due to a like cause, though through peaceful methods.

"I endeavor to show that the Mohammedan doctrine of God, far from being an evolutionary development of the Christian doctrine, as said by Beha, is rather a reversion to type, falling, as it does, behind that of Judaism in several particulars. The doctrine of the Trinity is thought to be adumbrated in Judaism in the doctrine of the Logos unconsciously acknowledged in Islam in the title of Spirit of God attributed to Christ, and some misconceptions in the minds of Mohammedans in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity are mentioned.

"In Shiahism is manifested a groping after the Trinity as a need of the soul, in the doctrine of Imamat, the invisible Imam, and the tendency to endow "manifestations" of the Imam with divine attributes, particularly in the case of Ali.

"A somewhat extended account is given of the various phases of this doctrine as developed in the teachings of the Ismaili, viz., the doctrine of "Manifestations and Occultations", combined as it was, with much of pantheism, as in the dogmas of "re-incarnation", "return" of the Imam, "transference of divinity", &c. A common feature of the various Ismaili movements is shown to be the idea of establishing a universal religion through the combination in one cult of the most characteristic doctrines of the principal existing religions. This feature is illustrated in what is said of the combined worship of Baal and Jehovah in Israel and in the Hindu absorption of Buddhism and the Panilian cults of India. Another feature of Ismailism is the inevitable appeal to the sword, a temptation which few of its leaders were able to resist. Their followers were ready to concede to them divine authority released from all sense of human responsibility and thought and most of them rebelled in bloodshed. Christ was more consistent. In emptying himself he laid down secular authority as well as divine majesty. To one who came to him as to a secular ruler he said,

"Man who made me a ruler or a judge over you." A theory of God which is capable in the hands of imposters, of working such harm to society is not likely to be a correct one, while a false Christ who should attempt to imitate Christ's own example might easily make himself ridiculous but could do no harm to society.

"Sufism differs from Behaism in the fact that the allegiance of the devotee is to the "marshid" of his particular order, and not to any central authority, or incarnated deity; in the doctrine of the "path" of the devotee, in the cult, by the Sufis of "ectasy", induced by ascetic practices, for the extinction of "self" and the attainment of communion with God in the theory of "illusion", and in the doctrine of an inward light as the only method of revelation. But in the essentials of their philosophy they are alike. In their conception of the nature and the moral character of God, in their denial of personal immortality, and their doctrines of re-incarnation and the absorption of the soul of God, they are in essential harmony with Hinduism. Sufism has become so inwrought in the whole texture of Persian thought through the writings of the great galaxy of Sufi poets, that considerable space is given to an account of this cult.

"Some reference is made to Sheikhism, as a transitional stage from Ismailism to Babism; a brief historical sketch is given of the latter, and of the assumption by Beha Ullah of the role of a "Manifestation."

"An account is given of the characteristic doctrines of Behaism, viz., The doctrine of an impersonal essence as the one universal substance constituting God and nature. "Nature" derived from God as an emanation of matter even in its grossest form as universal his own substance, which, being still divine, is endowed with life, as taught by Zeno, the Stoic, and by the modern Monists. As in the philosophy of the Sufi, the Gnostic &c. the return journey back to God is accomplished through the transformation of mineral into vegetable matter, then into animal into mind and spirit in higher and higher order till eventually spirit becomes re-united with God. The method of this approach to God is that of evolution

as demonstrated by modern science. The successful issue of the journey depends upon individual effort, wisely directed and reinforced by the incessant forces of the Universal Life. But in the struggle for existence this guidance is given impersonally, as nature distributes her favors, and no allowance is made for weakness or imperfection... The survival of the fittest, the extinction of the unfit, is the Bahai way of salvation.

"Behaism in company with the theistic religions, accepts the doctrine of a special revelation of God to man, made through the medium of prophets and apostles, and in the person of Jesus Christ, the son of God. The Bahai conception of revelation is, however, one with their conception of human personality. It is one mode of the universal expression of the existence of the life giving essence, a cosmical process rising and falling like the tide, and like the flood-tide alternately advancing and retreating, yet all the time rising higher till its cycle is completed. To the neophyte this process culminated in Beha Ullah, in whom the mystery of God, announced by the trumpet of the seventh angel of Revelation should be finished: He is the supreme final manifestation of the Almighty Father in Himself, the seventh and concluding Dispensation of the series of which those of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed were the preparatory stages.

"But Beha Ullah passes, and the neophyte sees Abdul Beha, the son after the flesh, assuming all the authority and dignity of his father, and then he learns that, to pantheistic speculation, there is no finality in anything, that all being is becoming, that God himself has his periods and his cycles of change. "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun." Beha Ullah "interprets" the sacred books of all religions, and makes them thus bear witness to himself. But Behaism must itself in its

every feature be interpreted in the light of pantheistic philosophy if its true character is to be understood. Thus interpreted (and it is only fairness to allow it to explain its parts by its own standards), it is found to be consistent with itself, if not with God's order in nature and in grace.

"The fundamental doctrines of Behaism are, first, that the Deity is an impersonal essence, that is, that he does not possess the personal attributes, will, reason, and desire, these being finite qualities, and pertaining to God only as he manifests himself through them in finite creatures. Man cannot know God, for an essence is wholly unknown and unknowable to finite intelligence, and man has no faculties by which it is possible for him to know God. All that man can know of God is God as he is revealed in his "Manifestation." This last has a familiar sound to the ear of the Christian. It appears to correspond to the Christian doctrine that the Father is revealed only in Christ. The fallacious character of this likeness will appear further on.

"Behaism constantly appeals to the Christian Scriptures as a witness to its truth, and it professes to accept Christ as the Son of God, the Messiah foretold by the prophets, and Saviour of the world from sin. But the Bible is to Behai a cryptogram, a mystery of God, whose meaning is hidden till the mystery is unravelled. So the "Manifestation" is given the key. He is at the same time the Writer and the Revealer. He when he appears, recognises in the writing of the prophets anything that pertains to himself, no matter how skillfully it may be concealed in words of difference signification, he discovers symbols and allusions to himself in the most commonplace statements and he interprets their hidden signi-

fication. He formulated a system of interpretation for the use of his followers, and this is a science that is eagerly studied by those who would be wise unto salvation. This would seem to be based largely, as are so many other such systems, on the numerical values of letters as rated by the Hebrews, on the Pythagorean conception of numbers having values mathematical, physical, and ethical, and on the Kabbalistic formulas of the theosophists. A brief account of the kabbala, with specimen Atbash and Ayak Bekher alphabets is given in the chapter on theosophy. These, with the rules of the Gematria, the Notarikon, the Temurah (permutation), &c. furnish an absolutely inexhaustible means of finding the desired interpretation of any text. But, should all these fail, there still remains an appeal to the exegetical authority of the "Manifestation." His decision on a disputed rendering is final, for "who that cavilleth will contend with the Almighty?" In the chapter on Rabbinical and Philonistic methods, the facility with which the Scriptures may be made void in this way is pointed out.

"The constitution of the human mind and the nature of language as a symbolism devised to give expression to thought are shown to make impossible the communication to man of an absolute and perfectly literal revelation such as the Koran is held to be by the Moslem doctors. But, on the other hand, a revelation that can be made to assume as many different disguises as the fabled Proteus does equal violence to the laws of our being, and cannot be acceptable either to reason or to faith.

"Progress in revelation is another fundamental doctrine of Behaism. On this it rests its doctrine of successive dispensations culminating in Beha Ullah. The term, however, has to the Behai an wider signification than this. To him it means also a progressive endowment of divine power and authority on individuals, by virtue of which the same person, if a "Manifestation", may appear successively in very different characters. This would permit the Bab, for instance, to be first a murid, then a murshid, then the Bab, then "Zikr"

(or reminder) then the Nukhta, or "point of revelation", then, had he lived, to become himself "Him whom God shall manifest", whose coming he proclaimed to his disciples. It seems very probable that he expected to appear later as the "Manifestation" of whom he had himself become the herald. If so, there was in this expectation nothing inconsistent with Babi or Behai doctrines, Beha Ullah himself having, as disciple or assistant, served under, and acknowledged the divine authority, both of the Bab and of Sobh-i-Ezei before announcing his own mission. It is even taught that divinity may be taken away from one or given to another, as was illustrated by the assumption at one time by Mullah Hosein or Bushraweyh of the rank of "Bab", Mirza Ali Mohammed becoming the "Babu'l-Bab", or gate of the gate during that time and later resuming his prior office of Bab.

"Certainly progress in revelation is a Christian doctrine but the Scriptural record, and even the testimony of every day facts needs to be entirely discredited if the Behai theory of the seven successively advanced dispensations is sustained. Progress in revelation is shown in the indefinite promise of Eve of the Coming One who should bruise the head of the serpent; in the focalization of the promise to the sons of Noah and the family of Shem; in the covenanted promise to one of the sons of Shem, to Abraham, to his son Isaac, his grandson Jacob and his great grandson Judah. Moses came of the house of Levi, and was not in the line of promise himself. He foretold, however, that the prophet who should come would be like himself, and would be raised up from among the "brethren" of the Hebrews. Moses' instructions about choosing a king, given on the same occasion, employed, according to Deuteronomy, the same term to designate the Hebrews themselves. If the term "from among your brethren" meant the sons of Ishmael, as some Mohammedan doctors contend, then Moses intended that the Hebrews should choose their king out of the Ishmaelites, a procedure which even Moses' authority could hardly have brought about.

"Progress is also shown in the increasing clearness of revelation in regard to the unity of God, and to his character, and his differentiation from his works of creation from the time of Adam to Abraham, and from Abraham to Moses and the prophets. The Law was a schoolmaster to bring the Jews progressively to Christ, in whom it was fulfilled. Christ alone of all the "Prophets of Dispensations", before Beha, recognized his Messianic character. Adam did not know that he was divine, and he was far enough from being godlike in his character. A Messiah may be tempted, but a true Messiah does not yield to temptation as did Adam, with the consequences which we all too well know. Neither, Noah, nor Abraham, nor Moses, nor Mohammed had any consciousness of the character attributed to them by Beha. Christ alone was conscious of being God. We here find progress from Adam to Christ, but no intermediate progress and no progress afterward. Beha Ullah has made claim to a higher title than does Christ. But unless the claim be accredited by a revelation of higher character it falls to the ground. We shall inquire now how he meets the test.

"Beha Ullah teaches that God is an impersonal essence, i. e., he denies to him the personal attributes of love, reason, and will, the personal attributes of consciousness and character. What one of our fellow creatures would we care to know, much less to pattern after, who was devoid of these qualities, who could only be described by saying what he was not? Beha teaches that it is only through the "manifestation" that anything whatever can be known about the essence of God. Well, can the Christian know anything about the Father except through Christ? It looks to the neophyte like the same doctrine, only carried a step higher. But Beha Ullah, according to his own teaching, is a finite person. He cannot be an infinite person. He is a finite manifestation of the essence, just as any of us are, only higher in quality and in wisdom; just as the trees of the forest are, but higher in endowment. He may have been the greatest and wisest of the

sons of men but he was a finite manifestation, not an infinite one. The knowledge of the transcendent God is an infinite knowledge, and, as Abbas Effendi teaches, cannot be communicated to a finite creature. There is, according to Bahai doctrine, no direct union between the divine essence, and a human personality. The finite is removed to an infinite degree from the infinite, and the void can only be filled by an infinite series of gradations of spirit, the illimitable series finally reaching in some way up to God. By such an endless chain must the inquirer who would know God through the "Manifestation" find Him.

"Has the Christian believer any closer access to the transcendent Father in heaven? He has? Christ in his human relation is not the terminal factor in a chain with an infinite number of links reaching from the finite to the infinite. Christ is the Godman, the infinite God dwelling directly in perfect and complete union with man, not merely as the Son, as the Bahai philosophy conceives of him, but in a union which includes man in union with God, with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God. There is a sense in which Christ is the Son, but it is not a sense which implies that there is any division of substance between the Son and the Father. But if man has no faculties by which he can apprehend the Father, the transcendent God, can the Christian, any more than the Bahai, know him directly. No man, it is quite true, can know the Father save through the mediation of Christ, but Christ mediates by imparting his own life to the believer, through the faith exercised by him to receive it, and thus in Christ, by sharing in his divine life, the believer is brought into direct personal communion with the divine Father in heaven.

"The Bahai doctrine of man deprives him of his immortal soul, of his personal identity after death. There is much of mistiness about the Bahai doctrine of immortality. This is not because the founder of the

religion was not capable of clear thinking, but because he has chosen to enter a region of speculation where the keenest intellects the world has produced have always, necessarily become befogged. Beha teaches that the soul is immortal, but that the personality is not. The soul continues to live after death, but the various attributes which constitute its personality are dissociated, and either go to merge with the common fund, or they are re-combined in other forms. By the common fund is not meant the transcendent essence, but the various strata of differentiated essence which have not been individual in spirit, in man, in animal, vegetable, or mineral life.

"One of the tablets, entitled, "Table talks with Abdul-Beha-Abbas, regarding Re-incarnation, Mystery of Self-sacrifice, &c", Published by the Board of Counsel, 707-708 Carnegie Hall, New York, April, 1901, has a diagram illustrating "The Cycle of Man." It represents a square, at the upper part of which is a sun with his rays radiating in all directions. At the lower part of the square is a sphere representing man, and the two spheres are connected by a circle passing through the center of each. The circle is filled with rays proceeding from the sun to the periphery of the circle, and these are designated "Holy Spirit." Strung on this circle, between God and man, on the left side, are three spheres, the one nearest the sun being "mineral" matter, the next "vegetable" and the third "animal". All outside the circle and the spheres on the left is shaded, and represents darkness. Between God and man on the circle on the right is represented a series of twelve interlinking circles, each growing larger as it approaches God. These are designated "Spiritual degrees, number infinite", and the last one, linking into the sphere of God, is marked "Highest possible attainments". All outside the circle on the right represents light. The description of the diagram is as follows:

"The return path from man to God, from ignorance to "knowledge" of the essence, which effects absorption in the essence, is a yet illimitable journey, beset with many troubles, and demanding many re-incarnations before the remnant of the person combined with the remnant of various other persons reaches the goal.

"The sinner might take comfort in the thought that as the person who committed the sins was no longer an entire person, his sins could not be punished without involving the innocent in the penalty, and so he must go free. But could one imagine a worse fate here on earth than to have nine tenths say, of one's moral character distributed about among his neighbors, and to receive in return an equivalent contribution from them. Is not the doctrine of transmigration as a whole, even into the body of a lower animal, which is so abhorrent to the mind of the Bahai, preferable to this?

"The Bahai doctrine of God fails here to furnish the desired evidence of advance in revelation. Its doctrine of man leaves him a mutilated creature, "scarce half made up", and with the immediate future of his life after death involved in the most distressing uncertainty. In place also of the Godman as the ideal man, it gives us the conception of a man wholly infinite, but filled with divinity as the cup, dipped into the sea, is filled with water. The cup and the water are wholly distinct and separate, there is no union, there is only contiguity.

"But if the immediate future of the soul is dark and forbidding is it not compensated for that in the final attainment of its goal? If it becomes God is not that the highest possible conception of immortality? The individual man lays down his individual consciousness and takes upon himself the universal consciousness. In knowledge, in glory, in capacity for enjoyment, he is God. Surely as a conception this must be a state of greater blessedness than is found in the individual immortality of the Christian.

Again we are getting into the mist. In the first place let us inquire whether God exists for the sake of man or does man exist for the sake of God? The Bahai will say that man exists for the sake of God, but man is temporarily separated from God, and cannot be supremely blest till he is re-united with him. He knows that the consciousness of the individual man, as compared with the consciousness of God is as zero to infinity, or, to bring it within our mental vision, as the dew drop to the ocean that encircles the world. How much does the ocean gain when the dew drop is united to its mass? How much does the dew drop gain by being extinguished in the immensity of the ocean? As a dew drop it possessed an exquisite beauty to gladden the eye of the beholder, and cause him to lift up his heart in thankfulness to its creator, and it had utility in ministering to the stem on which it was suspended, and to which it gave life and freshness and a sweetness of its own. Merged in the sea it was lost and dissipated in the immensities to which it contributed nothing, and, since it had lost its own identity, from which it could receive nothing. The Buddhist is nearer the mark. It is not increased consciousness that he is seeking for, it is the extinction of consciousness. And he is right in expecting practical extinction as a result of absorption, whether it be in the divine essence or in Nirvana.

"But what is all this talk about consciousness if the essence has no consciousness? It seems that an unconscious God, a God without attributes is inconceivable, even by the pantheist. For while he is denying consciousness to God, he is at the same time hoping to amplify to infinitude his own consciousness through union with God. If he really does conceive of an unconscious something as a reality with which he hopes to be merged, as does the Buddhist, he does not think of it as God at all, he thinks of it as being the next thing to nothing, and to become nothing is the fate

he desires for himself.

"The Christian has a totally different conception of the relations of God to man. God does not exist that man shall be glorified, but man exists that he may glorify God and enjoy God, not glorify himself in God, forever. It was because of pride that the angels fell; it was because he exalted himself rather than God, that Lucifer, Son of the Morning, was cast down from Heaven. Whether it be by insisting on God's taking back the life which he graciously gave, or whether it be with the curious idea that the soul that is merged in God becomes God, - as if the dew drop should take up all the ocean into itself, the underlying thought in this conception is directed first to the interests of self, and only secondarily to the glory of God.

"Behaism plainly shows no advance over Christianity in its conception of God, of man, or of immortality, even as a speculative idea. In its conception of God manifest in the flesh it fails altogether to approach the position of the Christian. Abbas Effendi teaches explicitly that God is unknowable, because man has no faculties by which he can know Him. Who is it then that the pilgrim sees when he makes the long journey to Haifa, and looks into the face of Abbas Effendi? Who was it that he saw at Acca when he looked upon Beha Ullah? He did not see God, for God cannot be seen by the eye of flesh. Was the voice of the "Manifestation" God's voice? No. Were the words that were spoken by him, or the thoughts to which he gave expression the words or the thoughts of God? No, for the voice was heard by human ears, and the thoughts were expressed to human understandings. These cannot know God according to Beha. "No", says the pilgrim, "these were not God, but there was a Presence, which I recognized as God's presence. There was majesty, and grace, and glory, and authority, there was love, and peace, and compassion, and benignity,

there was an atmosphere of spirituality that inspired all whom it enveloped with high aspirations and holy thoughts, an irresistible compulsion which made us all worship at his feet." "But none of these things could be God, for Abbas Effendi will tell you that man has no faculties by which he can know God.

"It is only in the things that are absolutely unknown and unknowable that God is. God may be present in the things you do not see, nor hear, nor think about, but if it is anything you can recognize by your senses, or that you can grasp by your understanding, or that is able to stir your emotions that cannot be God. Nothing whatever that you find in the "Manifestation" is God, or in any way like God, because what you know of the "Manifestation" you know by your human faculties, and they cannot apprehend God."

"Not so does the Christian know his Father in Heaven. Not so does Christ teach us to think about him. "No man" John tells us, "hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Christ said to Philip, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." He said to Judas (not Iscariot), "If a man love me he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." The Father said to the disciples before whose faces Jesus was transfigured, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of him, "He is the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person." (Heb. 1:3) The Father sent his Son into the world that in him men might see the Father. We hear the Father say, "As you see him to be, so you may know what I am; his character, as you see it displayed in his goings out and his comings in before you, is my character, his love is my love, his righteous, his truth, his purity,

his tenderness and loving-kindness, his longing for the hearts of men, his desire to take upon himself their sin, and quench it in the out-pouring of his life on the cross, -in all these things he reveals my love, in all these things he that hath seen him hath seen the Father."

"No, Beha Ullah has brought forward no evidence in the way of a fuller revelation of God's attributes, to show that his assumption of a higher title than Jesus bore, is anything more than a name."

The reader will find in the Appendix one chapter of the book, "What is Bahaism," and also a paper written by Mr. Holmes in 1903 answering some questions with regard to Bahaism and Christianity but it will be well to preserve here in the text his paper on "The Relation of Bahaism to Christian Missions", which no one but he could have written:

The Relation of Bahaism to Christian Missions.

"It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss merely work for Bahais but also to point out the significance of Bahaism in its doctrine and teaching as an expression of Persian thought and the bearing of its methods as an illustration of the Persian genius for propaganda in relation to our own effort to win the whole Persian people for Jesus Christ.

"We will consider the subject therefore under three heads:

- I. Bahai Controversy, per se.
- II. The Inner Significance of Bahaism, i.e., its teaching and doctrine as an expression of Persian philosophical tendencies.
- III. The Bahai propaganda.

"Before taking up these topics, however, we must say a word as to preparations and general attitude.

"For preparation nothing can replace actual contact. Our attitude should not at first be controversial. We must be willing to listen that

we may learn the Bahai's hopes and ideals and reasons for accepting his new faith as well as the arguments by which he supports it. At the same time we should check up his statements and ideas by a study of the literature for few Bahais have deep or thorough knowledge of their own literature. In fact, it is probably easier for us to make a comprehensive study of the subject than for them.

"As to literature, Dr. Speer's article on the Religion of the Bab in "Missions and Modern History" is the best resume of the subject in all its aspects but for careful and thorough study we must turn to Professor Y Browne's writing. His two articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July and October, 1889, are the best introduction to the subject. As these numbers are quite expensive it may be of interest to note that they are to be found in the station library in Teheran while the writer will be glad to loan his copies. h notes and appendices to his translations of Abbas Effendi's Traveller's Narrative in illustration of the Episode of the Bab and the New History of the Bab are our most critical and valuable source of information. The translations themselves are of less value although the New History gives a good view of the early ideals as well as heroism of Babism. For the historical antitypes of the sect one should consult (by means of the index) Browne's Literary History of Persia.

"Of Bahai books, the Ighan gives the foundation of their system of evidences. It is a rescension of an earlier work, "The Seven Proofs" and was written by Baha'ullah shortly before his claim to divine inspiration. It can be obtained in Persian, English or French but Mirza Abd'ul Fazl's Proofs of Baha (English) is more systematic and more recent. Unfortunately the Agdas exists only in Arabic. In Persia certain table talks known as

"Annur'ul Abha fi Mufavazat Abd'il Baha (commonly called Mufavazat in Persia and "Some Answered questions" in English) has a wide circulation and is frequently brought to our attention. Those wishing to read it in Persia will find the style good and the vocabulary helpful in subsequent dealings with Bahais. Phelps' Abbas Effendi: His Life and Teaching is the most systematic effort to set forth Bahai doctrine but his conclusions although in harmony with Baha'ullah's earlier writings are not current in Persia. The "Splendour of God" (Wisdom of the East series) gives excerpts from Baha'ullah's writing setting forth most distinctly his claim to divinity and the pantheistic tendencies of his doctrine (which last Persian Bahais often deny).

"It is so trite to say that our general attitude should be one of sympathy that the term has come to have little significance to us. It is, however, the chief factor I believe in Bahai success. We as foreigners, however, must go further than mere sympathy and express this sympathy as well as our specific arguments in terms that will penetrate the Persian consciousness. We must even change our usual arguments to others which Persians will consider logical. For this reason in the following discussion we dwell upon lines of thought and argument which we have found prevalent among Persian Bahais and ignore to a certain extent others which are more prevalent among Europeans. The Bahais for instance will seldom be willing to make moral comparisons between the Gospel and the Koran until you have clearly demonstrated to him that Mohammed did not fulfil the "signs" which Jesus said would attend his own return.

"With this explanation of our attitude let us consider

I. Bahai Controversy.

"In the Kitab-ul-Aghas Bahais are instructed to associate with all religions and all sects. A few years ago, therefore, they were very anxious to meet missionaries in open controversy and often brought their inquirers to witness their controversial powers. Missionaries also in many cases welcomed such opportunity hoping that Bahaiism might prove a stepping stone to Christianity. Both sides were disappointed. The Bahais have almost entirely abandoned the open controversial method and as a rule have as little to do with missionaries as possible. It must not be inferred however, that we need pay no further attention to them. Any one who is at all familiar with the subject finds that he is confronted on every hand with Bahai arguments and ideas. Bahai thought extends further than the actual numbers of Bahais would indicate. Thus during our trip to Khorsaan last year the writer's companion was asked one day in the bazaar of a city in which there were supposed to be but two or three Bahais to give an explanation of the 12th Chapter of Revelations. On another occasion during a noonday halt a dervish began in our presence to give Bahai interpretations of the scriptures and wished us to back him up. Inquirers and chance acquaintances frequently have questions based upon Bahai arguments which they wished settled or a man who pretends to be an impartial investigator soon shows himself by his questions and line of discussion a Bahai. For these and other reasons we cannot hope to entirely avoid Bahai controversy and should be prepared for each contingency.

"Nor is it to be supposed that our Bahai opponent is going to play the game fairly as we understand it. Insinuation, sarcasm, and open ridicule are freely used upon occasion. Not long ago a Persian

found the writer reading the Bible. A number being present he began in a very superior way to ridicule us saying, "You who are modern in your medicine, language and clothes ought to be ashamed to read such an old book. You should be modern in your religion also." Aside from his sarcasm, however, there is in this statement an underlying idea which seems to have real evidential value to many Persians and is often advanced by them. The idea of a perfect, final religion is entirely foreign to them. Babaiism does not claim it for itself. Each faith is suited for the time and place in which it was given. This attitude is found among all classes but perhaps most frequently among Jews who say, "We have come as far as Jesus but are not certain about what comes after him."

"Another tack commonly taken is to point out the failure of Christianity to fulfil the prophecies of the Old Testament, especially the one: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, etc." If Christ fulfilled this prophecy why all these armies and wars among Christian nations?

"Their favorite practice, however, is to try to prove directly from the Old and New Testaments that Mohammedi and Bahai'ullah are the fulfillment of prophecy. The oldest and best elaborated bit of exegesis dates from the time of Bab himself and is fully worked out in the Ighan (pp. 22956). It is an interpretation of Matthew 24 of which we can only give the briefest suggestion. It is assumed that an age is the cycle of a prophet's influence; that the sun and the moon are the prophet, and his immediate successor; the stars are the ulama and theologians. As the years pass the light of a manifestation grows dim, the ulama fall from their high estate and a new manifestation appears. This is the true resurrection. The old heavens and earth pass away while new ones take their places.

" A great deal of attention is given to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of John and the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. Assuming in the case of the last two that a "day" in prophecy means a year the Bahais try to connect the indications of time in these prophecies with the Bahai era. Their basis is an unwarranted application of a few words in Ezekiel 4:3 which the ordinary Bahai confessor does not apply. He is so ignorant of the Bible, however, that he believes there must be other passages which we conceal from him in support of his theory. Not only is their premise weak but in the application of the interpretation they do not agree among themselves. Some reckon as the time of the cessation of the continual burnt offering the private annunciation of his mission by Mohammad, others the capture of Jerusalem by Omar. The first reckon the terminus of the period to be Bahaiullah's private claim about 1662, the latter his visit to Mt. Carmel in 1696. Sometimes they reckon solar years; sometimes lunar.

"It may seem easy to refute such illogical and self-contradictory arguments but it is not a question (with a people lacking entirely in historical and critical acumen) of what is said but how a thing is said, -- how positively and how often repeated. In handling these prophecies, for instance, most of us are handicapped by our knowledge of the difficulties attending the attempt to interpret all of them and our desire to be fair to those who have reached different conclusions than ourselves. These considerations seldom hinder a Bahai worker and his intimate connection with the life and thought and prejudices of the people give him an immense advantage.

"Thus the current Bahai interpretations of the 11th and 12th chapters of Revelations appeal to all the prejudices of the Sidel heart. In the 11th chapter, the two witnesses are Mohammed and Ali; in the 12th chapter, the woman is Islam (i.e. Shia or true Islam) the child is

Mohammad, the sun is Persia (the lion and sun) the moon is Turkey, the stars are the twelve Imams, the opposing beasts are the first three Khalifs. The exposition is often finally cinched to the Bahai mind by trying to identify 666 with Osman according to the abjad system although this involves the addition of an extra letter.

Here again we are apt to fail to appreciate the force of the argument from their standpoint. Their whole kalendar and many other of their laws and customs are founded or at least supported on just such numerical identification. Thus nine and nineteen constantly occur in their legal and ritual systems. Nine is the sum of the letters of Baha plus an "Alif" which represents the unknowable divine unity; nineteen (even more sacred) is the sum of the letters "Vahid" (unity) and "Vajud" (essence, the sum of an "Alif and a "Hayy" (living), the number of letters in "Bismillah-ar-Rahman ar-Rahim, etc. In view of these sentiments, the writer has more than once found it most effective to point out that 666 is the sum of the letters in Nero Kaiser both in the Hebrew and Arabic alphabet and of Latinus in the Greek.

As a rule it is useless to attempt any systematic exposition of the prophecies with a Bahai but nevertheless it would be well for each one of us to carefully consider our own ideas on the questions involved and be as sure of ourselves as possible. Even more important perhaps is a united study of the question with Persian Christians and inquirers in order that they may appreciate the weakness of their opponents contentions and be united in their methods of reply. Our general attitude should be that it is not our duty to interpret these prophecies as a refutation of Bahaiism but that the Bahais must show that Baha'ullah fulfilled all the statement of the New Testament. Although he may seem to fulfil a hundred passages a single verse which contradicts his

claim is enough to overthrow the whole chain of evidence. A quiet insistence upon the significance of such verses as "Salvation is from the Jews", "This Jesus who was received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld them going into heaven." Or, "If any man preach unto you any gospel other than that which ye received let him be anathema", is often very effective.

*This whole question of Bahai exegesis will often try our patience. It is well therefore to remember a warning of Dr. Holmes. He says, "The traditional method of exegesis as employed by many of our helpers, simply plays into the hands of the Bahais. ***** If we are at liberty to interpret the Scriptures literally when it suits the convenience of our argument to do so, or figuratively at will, regardless of context or historical setting or perspective, then we are compelled to allow them the same liberty; and they can easily discount us in such a contest, since they know nothing of history and care less, and they have a facility in basing a fanciful interpretation on the numerical value of a letter or name, or on an assumed grammatical relation of the different parts of a sentence, to which a western expert in exegesis could never hope to attain.

*The missionary who is called upon to make apologetic statements of Christianity to Bahais must make sure that he himself knows what Christianity is. He must have seen with his own eyes, and have heard with his own ears Him of whom he speaks. *** In this kind of controversy it is necessary that one should see, not alone for one's self but for one's antagonist also, if he is to be convinced. *** When the reciprocal vision is exercised one will often find that what he thought to be rock in his own foundation is just what the other has seen it to be, a mere bed of sand. Much of the current allegorical and figurative

interpretation of prophecy are as beautiful and in such a discussion as unsubstantial as the rainbow. The undoubted value to the Christian of such interpretation as aids to faith and for edification rest upon another basis."

"Next most frequently after the exegetical method which we have just considered the Bahai attempts to establish his argument by assuming the necessity of a "Teacher" or a succession of teachers to reveal the Creator to the Created. They further assume certain "proofs" of such teachers which are commonly stated as follows:

1. He must claim to come from God.
2. He must bring a new doctrine.
3. His word must have power.
4. His word must remain.

"In answer to the whole line of argument the writer has found it most effective to point out that just about the same time that the Bab appeared in Persia a woman (Mrs. Eddy) arose in America who fulfilled all these conditions, i.e., she claims to bring a new revelation from God, containing a new doctrine, she has up to the present probably as many converts as Bahaism (250,000 in America alone) that her doctrine has spread beyond her own country and that it has remained as long as Bahaism has. Reference to Mormonism, the Millerites, Dowleism and "The Holy Ghost and Us Society" are also of value.

"The Bahais say their new doctrine is the "Brotherhood of Man". To us this seems sufficiently contained in the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God but the Bahais points to the factions and divisions of Christendom, the heavy armaments and frequent wars. We may adopt an "Et tu" attitude pointing out the divisions of Bahaism but it will not be very effective.

"The "power" to which the Bahai refers in the third point is not the power to transform lives but the power to win followers. Any one who has come into contact with Bahaism knows what apologetic emphasis is laid upon the supposedly rapid spread of Bahaism and the extent to which it has attracted attention. Occasionally we find a man who will believe our statements as to the true extent of Bahaism in America, but ordinarily he remains of the same mind still.

"Our opponent seldom if ever voluntarily argues from a philosophical or metaphysical standpoint. Nor will he admit as valid a comparison on the basis of reason of the Gospel, Koran and Agdas as to internal evidences of divine origin or general suitability to the needs of man. His idea of God permits a purely arbitrary conception of revelation which may be changed at will by the Divine Essence. Moreover he is as a rule very ignorant of the fundamental ideas of his own or any other faith. The attempts at a static presentation of Bahaism issued in America when brought to the attention of a Persian Bahai generally leads to a flat denial that this is a true picture of Bahaism and many will say that if such is the case they reject the faith. With a thoughtful or sincere man - and there are such to be found - a discussion of the philosophical and moral aspects of religion is sometimes of value.

"Space prevents a careful consideration of Bahaism in relation to Islam but we cannot afford to ignore it. If we can overthrow the Bahai faith in Mohammed we cut off his own support. Even without attacking Islam there are occasions when it is of use to be thoroughly acquainted with the inconsistencies between Islam and Bahaism. A voluminous work has been prepared by Mirza Agha Taghi of Hamadan in answer to Bahaism but the volume is too uncritical to be of value. A little tract prepared in Resht seems more cogent. The Bahais attack the absurdity of popular conceptions of many traditions but vary greatly in their attitude to the

faith itself. Thus one will admit that Islam merely benefited the Arabs and was not a universal religion; another clings to the idea that the death of Messian has an atoning value parrallial to the death of Jesus. It is easy, however, to turn their own methods of handling the traditions against them with effect and often their assertion of the divinity of Baha'ullah runs directly counter to the Koranic verse, "He neither begets nor is he begotten."

"With careful preparation we need not fear to meet any Bahai in argument but we need something more than this if we are going to win his allegiance. We must have his confidence. It is wonderful the absolute faith the ordinary Bahai places in his teacher. Even when he admits the unreliability of such a man in other departments of life he still clings to him as a religious guide. Our first step must be to win a like confidence in ourselves that he may be led to listen to the arguments and proofs which we can bring from history and science against the claims of Baha'ullah.

"Even after we have won his confidence we must find the means of gaining his attention. He is so sure of himself, so eager to persuade us that he does not really listen to what we say. One missionary says, "When a Bahai wishes to argue with us I refuse. I say, 'You are a man and I am a man. We are both sinners. What are you going to do about it?'" Such a statement as this or a sharp criticism of Bahai morality or a simple statement of our own Christian experience and power over sin may be effective. Our discussion then passes from the realm of controversy but in order to make it effective we must understand the longings of and the methods of approach to the Bahai heart which we will now try to set forth briefly.

II. The Inner Significance of Bahaism.

"Bahaism is a renewed expression of an inner longing which seems to have pervaded Persian thought for long centuries, the longing for actual contact with a Divine Being. Orthodox Islam failed entirely to satisfy this desire. Shia Islam with its practical deification of Ali and his family was only partially successful. It may be said that probably a majority of the Persian are dissentient from strict Shiism. Some of them seek through Sufism to lift themselves up into the Divine Essence; others through a long line of sects of which the Ali Allahis and the Bahais are recent and familiar examples endeavor to bring the Divine Essence down into human form.

"It is a mistake to suppose that Bahaism is in any sense a new development. We can trace many of its peculiar ideas even though they are somewhat obscured in its more recent teaching though the Muslimeyyeh, the Batini, the Ismailis and Assassins. Not only does it resemble them in its Anthropomorphism, its doctrine of Return and less distinctly Metempsychosis but also in its methods of propaganda and many peculiar customs in the use of colors and numbers.

"All these sects agree in the manifestation of the Divine Will in human form. To be sure the Bahais reject the Christian idea of Incarnation comparing their Manifestation to a mirror which reflects the sun without partaking of its nature. They call him a Perfect Man but Baha'ullah himself announces "There is no God but Me! O ye my creatures! Worship Me!" (Words of Paradise).

" In the Ighan he also says (Eng. trans. p. 69,70.)

"All the prophets, successors, divines, sages and wise men confess
 "their lack of attainment to the knowledge of the Essence of Essences
 "and admit their inability to know and reach that Truth of Truths.

***Therefore He caused brilliant Essences of Sanctity to appear from the Holy World of Spirit in mighty human temples. ***These mirrors of Sanctity and Daiming - places of Divinity fully express the Sun of Existence and Essence of Desire. For instance their Knowledge expresses His Knowledge, their Power His Power, their Dominion His Dominion, their Beauty His Beauty, and their Manifestation His Manifestation. They are the Treasuries of Supreme Knowledge, stores of Eternal Wisdom, revealers of Infinite Beauty, Daiming places of that Sun of Eternity. Therefore it is said: 'There is no difference between Thee and thee except that they are Thy servants and Thy Creatures.' This is the station of 'I am He and He is me.'

It is evident therefore that in dealing with Bahais as well as Sufis and Ali Allahis our difficulty is not to persuade them of the Divinity of Jesus Christ but to show them wherein this Divinity was peculiar to Him.

Closely connected with this idea of Divinity is that of "Return." This too appears in Shiism in the expectation of the return of Christ and the Mahdi. The Bab's highest claim was that he was the Mahdi. Some of his followers called themselves Ali, Hussein, &c. Baha'ullah also in some of his earlier writings (*Laws i Nasir*, J.F.A.S. October 89 p. 952) identifies himself with the Bab and speaks of the latter's execution as a personal experience in the following language: "They suspended my glorious body in the air, and wounded it with the bullets of malice and hatred, until my spirit returned to the Supreme Companion and gazed on the Most Beautiful Garment. And not one reflected wherefore it was that I accepted this injury from my servants, for, had they reflected, they would not have remained veiled from my Beauty in my second Manifestation." Again he says: "In the Bayan I admonished all in the language of power." Many writers and some Persian Bahais seem to state that Abbas Effendi is a return of Jesus Christ.

The Bahai explanation of the doctrine as now given, in spite of the evident implication of the above passage, is that they only believe in a return of kind. Such and such a man shows the powers and qualities of Ali, for instance. They also state that the same spirit which was

in former manifestations is present in the latest Manifestation although the person is different. Abbas Effendi's resemblance to Christ depends rather upon his "Sonship" than upon any personal connection with Jesus of Nazareth.

"The Bahai teaching in regard to the future life is much confused. Among the early tales of Babis collected in Mirza'Jani's History is one of a Bâbi preacher who told his listeners that a dog whose howling they heard was a reincarnation of a neighbor who had recently died. As a rule, however, the Bahais deny Metemphycosis. Sometimes there is an effort to parrallel the dissipation of the body with a dissipation of the spirit. Phelps, who claims to have Abbass Effendi's authority for the body of teaching which he has collected says that the World of Spirit which is an Emanation from the Divine Essence reacts upon the World of Matter, which is a negative phase of the Divine Essence, to form successive centers of self consciousness and activity which, progressing through long stages of development, finally attain the highest form which is man. Man is given a ray (soul) direct from the Divine Essence which enables him to unite (if he strive) with that Essence. If he fails his spirit is dissipated in the world of spirit leaving upon it certain impression which tend to reappear in the same combination whenever a suitable material mould is found. Barney also claiming the authority of Abbass Effendi states that spirits of men persist after the death of the body in a cycle of perfection. Their degree in this cycle depends upon the progress they have made in this life. In the Seven Valleys, Baha 'ullah teaches that the soul progresses through seven stages, the final one of which is "absolute poverty and annihilation." Although Skrine says "This goal does not imply a merging of his personality

into the Absolute; it is a stepping stone to higher stages of consciousness of which we can have no conception", the language used implies absorption.

"The Persian Bahai generally clings to a belief in a life after death, the nature of which we do not know but in which there will be degrees depending upon conduct in the world. It is, however, too vague a thought to greatly influence his attitude towards sinfulness or impelled him to obedience to the commands of his master. The way of salvation or progress according to Baha'ullah rests upon obedience to the commands for most Bahais seem to think it depends rather upon their service to the Manifestation of the Age. They have apparently abandoned the Moslem excessively legal idea of work of merit and there is a faint trace of an atonement idea. A younger son of Baha'ullah while walking on the roof for meditation and prayer fell through the roof and died some thirty hours afterward. Later Baha'ullah said to the mother "Your son has been taken by God that his people might be freed. His life was the ransom and you should rejoice that you had a son so dear to give to the cause of God." The freedom mentioned seems, however, to have been freedom from persecution rather than implying any freedom from sin or reconciliation with God. To the Bahai God is absolutely unapproachable. "No relation, connection, separation, union, nearness, remoteness, position or reference is possible between Him and the contingent beings." (Ighan Eng. trans. 69).

"The specific laws and customs of the Bahais do not concern us here except to note that while moral precepts are freely given in the Bahai writings the commands concerning which one hears the most are those appointing stated times of prayers, fasts, marriage and divorce, laws of inheritance, a permanent organization (i.e. the House of Justice), etc. showing that Bahaism aims at temporal as well as spiritual authority.

"We cannot dwell further upon Bahai doctrine and philosophy. Enough has been said to show that we must carefully consider our method of presenting our ideas of the Incarnation, of sin and atonement, man's possible intercourse with God, and the future life. With much of seeming resemblance in language our ideas on these topics will be challenged at every step by the Bahai. This confusion between language and meaning makes it very difficult to make rapid progress in training one who has become imbued with Bahai phraseology but once we have been able to clearly explain the Christian doctrine we find it has a strong appeal for many.

III. Bahai Propaganda.

"Here too we find no new phenomena beyond the facility of communication afforded by steam, electricity and the press. Professor Browne's description of an Ismaili propagandist (Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. I, 411) closely fits the Bahai worker. He says: "The type of this characteristic Persian figure seems scarcely to have varied from the time of Abu Muslim till the present day, when the Da'iof the Babis goes forth on his perilous missions between Persia, his native land, and Syria where his spiritual leaders dwell in exile." The da'i commonly adopted some ostensible profession, such as that of merchant, physician, oculist or the like, and, in this guise, arrived at the place where he proposed to begin operations. In the first instance his aim was to impress his neighbors with a high idea of his piety and benevolence. To this end he was constant in almsgiving and prayer, until he had established a high reputation for devout living, and had gathered around him a circle of admirers. To these,

especially to such as appeared most apt to receive them, he began gradually and cautiously to propound his doctrines, striving especially to arouse the curiosity of his hearers, to awaken in them a spirit of inquiry and to impress them with a high opinion of his wisdom but prepared at any moment to draw back if they showed signs of restiveness or suspicion."

"Bahais take great delight in twitting the missionary on the comparative success in outward converts between their methods and that of the missionary and Professor Brown makes the following somewhat unfair comparison. "If this type of da'i is so far as we can judge almost unvarying in Western Asia, it differs greatly from that of the European missionary, whose learning, knowledge of character, and adaptability to circumstances fall short by as much as his material needs and his national idiosyncrasies exceed those of the da'i.

"There are of course two fundamental differences between our aims and methods and those of the Bahais. First, Christianity demands honesty in every step. The secrecy, deceit, and intrigue practiced by many Bahais of our acquaintance are foreign to the very nature of our faith. Second, no missionary is satisfied with any mere outward profession of faith. He demands that the life shall be transformed from a life of sin into a life of growing purity.

"Although Christian missionaries have been in many localities far more successful in transforming men's lives than Bahaiism has in Persia and has not been behind it in numerical results we must recognize that as foreigners we are handicapped. However willing we may be we cannot wholly free ourselves from life long habits and customs and modes of thought even if it is desirable to do so. We have long recognized

that the evangelisation of Persia must rest with the Persians. It is of great importance, therefore, that we understand the Bahai Propaganda that on the one side we may know how to meet it and protect our converts and, on the other hand, train them to work as far as possible along the lines of the Persian genius for propaganda.

"The first feature that impresses us is the influence of the personality of the leaders and the organization which they have built. It is not only the influence of Baha'ullah and his successors but that of many a well known worker. It has been said that the Persian makes a good soldier when he has a worthy leader. The Persian is an enthusiastic propagandist when he has inspiring leadership. I think perhaps we are too inclined to content ourselves with the role of teacher rather than leader. We must endeavor to exalt the Person of Christ in word and life and inspire a deeper loyalty to him and His cause of which we are for the time being the representatives.

"In spite of many statements to the contrary in European and American Articles on the subject of Bahaism we know that it is one of the most compact religious organizations to be found. At present this depends largely upon the influence of Abbas Effendi and the work of a few of his associates. It is doubtful whether he will find a successor of such ability, but Baha'ullah has provided that the affairs of the faith shall be administered by committees who are infallible and apparently have power to suspend or apply at will the most fundamental laws.

"All of us know something of the operation of this organization, the appointment of leaders (bishops almost) for various countries, the contribution of funds to help in building a place of worship in America, the bringing of Americans to help in Teheran, the frequent transfers of workers, Persian and American, from one country to another, the pilgrimages

to Acca, the publication of a newspaper in Persian and English, the use of the press at home are all familiar to us. In our own work we must aim at helping one another more, in bringing pressure to bear in opportune moments and places and by trying to make the Persians feel the continuity and forward movement of Christianity not only in Persia but also in the whole world. We can also do much by a more thorough districting of our fields and a careful study of various forms of cooperation. Especially may I suggest a bureau of information of some kind as to available workers and the needs of special fields.

"A third factor is personal work. We have already described the typical Bahais propagandist. He does not hold public or formal meetings or preaching services. He has some business through which he gets into contact with people and thus gradually draws on and instructs the more receptive ones. Once they have made far enough progress to be trusted he introduces them to a "shabnishini" where they are brought into contact with other inquirers. Great emphasis is laid upon instruction especially in the legal side of the faith and in polemic so that the inquirer is soon ready to enter into controversy and is well qualified to induct others into the initial steps of belief. There is nothing unusual in this method except its adaptation to local conditions. It is the same that has been used in Korea, Manchuria and many other fields by Christian workers.

"The most noticeable local feature is the use of the "shabnishini" or the customs the Persians have of getting together night after night in various semi-social meetings. In some places these gatherings are largely literary in character; in others, as in Resht, the purpose is too often drinking and gaming. The Bahais have used these meetings

with great effectiveness. After sitting up until two or three hours after dark the host often serves dinner to some or all of the company and generally a few remain until morning. There is no reason why we should not avail ourselves of this custom but of course it is impossible for most of us to sit up until eleven, twelve or one o'clock night after night and then get up in time to run a dispensary or school the next morning. There ought to be some one in each station free from other work to undertake this social and personal work.

IV. Conclusion.

"In conclusion may I sum up my suggestions in a few words? Our first step should be to seek to become more thoroughly imbued with Persian ways of thought and to get into closer contact with Persians by adapting ourselves as far as possible to local customs and conditions. Especially do I think we can make a greater use of the "shah nishini."

"I would emphasize also the need of more systematic instruction of inquirers and recent converts not merely in doctrine but also in apologetic and controversy. While we are busy trying to get a man to appreciate some of the fundamentals a Bahai is busy overthrowing his faith in the finality of Christianity by some of the arguments we have already outlined. We have also been criticised by some of our own number because we are keen on a man until he confesses a desire to be a Christian and then neglect him as though that had been our only desire.. We must so organize our work that we have time to thoroughly instruct all inquirers and candidates for baptism.

"We have already referred to the importance of using the Persian for the actual evangelistic work. Sometimes we complain because we cannot pay evangelists large salaries. We ought rather to emphasize the importance of each man's work in his own profession and circle. The use of money in evangelistic work and in holding new converts by the Bahais is naturally a very difficult one to investigate. Some of their workers are paid salaries, or at least expenses; others, even those who devote much time to the work, may be self-supporting. The great mass of workers probably support themselves. There is, however, a custom of helping converts and inquirers by giving them work to do or starting them in business. When an inquirer or Bahai is without work a number of the Bahais get together and arrange work for him, or sometimes, I have been told, simply appoint some man to help him. In new centers funds may come from outside but I am of the impression that usually a community of Bahais is sending money out of the locality rather than receiving outside help.

"There is a final suggestion which I might have made in a number of points in the foregoing discussions. It is that need of a Christian newspaper in Persian. The power of the printed page is tremendous among the Persians. We have already noted their ignorance of the religious movements of the present and the past. A paper giving pertinent sketches of various religions and religious movements and especially of the missionary activities of Protestant Christianity would have a tremendous influence. There is also need for a medium to inculcate steadily and persistently higher moral ideals. The Bahai seems entirely lacking in any idea of a higher moral life than that to which he is surrounded. We should try to inspire him to seek better things.

"Above all things let us not be discouraged in work for Bahais. It must be admitted that the typical Bahai is not very anxious to seek truth but there are among them many others who will respond to careful patient effort."

Light and Shadow in a Great Soul

Already in Persia the eb and flow of mystical religious experience were very noticeable in this great spirit. At times all would be color and sun, ^{light} and bright and at ^{other} times the shadow of depression and doubt would fall and he would move through a night of self-depreciation and abject humility. When he returned to America and was unable to resume active work, the mind had more time to turn in upon itself. For long seasons all would be bright and his gentle geniality of mood and joyous laughter would make every society in which he was found happier and richer for his presence. And then, for long seasons the clouds hung heavy on his mind and spirit, though even then he bravely sought to bear his burden alone and to cast no gloom on others. For all these years, however, he wrote continuously to one friend whom he loved and who loved him, and though all this correspondence was sacredly confidential while he lived it is felt to be right now to ^{share} ~~show~~ it as revealing the depths of his religious life and thought and as helpful to others who may have in their own souls such struggles as he knew and by God's grace was enabled to transcend.

It is with a reverent step that the reader should enter this holy place.

Hamadan, Dec. 22, 1898

"I have been greatly blessed and honored of God in being permitted to come back to Persia. This I have felt all along. But on the way I had the proof of it and that

it was the Lord who brought me back and so do I rejoice in my infirmities and glory in my weaknesses that the strength of Christ may rest upon me."

March 12, 1899

"Once you suggested my 'writing a book' with a view of seeking a solution of some of my spiritual difficulties. Thank God that is not necessary now for that purpose, but I am at work on a brief statement for the Jews with the view of making the Messiahship of Christ appear to them a reasonable doctrine, and in harmony with their own and their fathers' anticipations.

"I think of taking the point of view of a pious Jew who is looking for the consolation of Israel, or rather one who is in entire sympathy with the Jew who looks for a Deliverer who shall gather the remnant of Israel and establish them in their own land, and their King upon the throne of his father David.

"The idea of the work is to bring the testimony of the Old Testament to the Jew respecting the Messiah in such a guise as shall not at the outset arouse prejudice. With this in view I have thought of following up a line of argument I have often employed in conversation with them, which has appeared to disarm their prejudices and make them willing and desirous to hear more, viz. to identify the Messiah they are expecting with the Messiah we are expecting, leaving out of consideration for the time being the suffering Messiah,

and considering him as the Son of David, the Coming One, in whom is fulfilled all that the prophets have spoken of his glory and power. Then I go on to show how that the whole history of the Hebrew people, their institution, their laws, their temple service, their prophecies, have looked forward to this and lead up to this. I call attention to the continuity of purpose in the Divine plan, so that although the temple was destroyed and the people led into captivity, yet the prophets remained, and their utterances grew clearer and more definite as the outward symbols of their worship were taken away. I note however a very strange and remarkable break in this continuity that while for fourteen hundred years they had an almost an uninterrupted succession of theophanies, or of prophets and seers, for twenty three hundred years they have been dumb -- they, the most spiritual of all peoples of old, and unless it be the Greeks, the most intellectual, the chosen of God, with a literature such as no other nation could boast, with a record of miraculous interpositions wholly unique. Suddenly God withdrew Himself, suddenly these great singers' voices were silenced, suddenly the ringing utterances of the prophets ceased -- on what principle of interpretation of God's purposes can these things be accounted for?

I undertake then to show that there has been no such catastrophe in their history as would thus have to be accounted for; that they have not been forsaken, that they have not been left without witness of God, that they have

not been dumb, that the marvellous spiritual and intellectual power of the Jews rose to a height during that period of supposed silence, such as it had never before attained in their history, and has never before or since attained in the history of any other people.

"I then call their attention to the fact that their Messiah was to be a suffering, as well as a Conquering Messiah - deal with their various theories about this and then ask what forbids their believing that the glorified Son of David whom they and all are looking for, is the same suffering Messiah whom as yet they have never been able to account for. and who can be no other than Jesus of Nazareth, who when he came they did not recognize and who also could not be accounted for on any other theory.

"I would then endeavor to show how the whole mystery of the withdrawal of the Divine Presence is explained in Him, a Jew, who has shed more lustre on the Jewish name than all their patriarchs, prophets and Kings, and is in Himself the crowning proof that the Lord hath not cast away His people and that very promise made to them shall be fulfilled.

"I would point out in its place the effort by the Pharisees and people to fulfill the law and thus insure the coming of the Messiah, asking them how they can hope to do so now completely under present circumstances when the Pharisee, with Priesthood, and Temple, and national organization so utterly failed. that they lost all that and everything else, but their inextinguishable hope in

the promises, which has preserved them from extinction as a race. Then I would show how mistaken was their effort at reformation since they determined to reform from the outside, in utter violation of all that everyone of their prophets had taught them was the will of the Lord, that perhaps for this reason it was, that during the period while they were most assiduously building up the hedge of the law, and forgetting and refusing to think of the living spirit which alone could animate it, God withdrew from them his accus-messengers and prophets, and let them work out their plan of accomplishing a material salvation, the work of their own hands, until its inevitable result should be made manifest.

"I would incidentally bring in all the arguments possible from Scripture against Islam and Behaism showing how the latter had taken hold of the Jews and how its falsehood was demonstrated by their own Scripture and the New Testament, but avoiding any mention of Islam by name, hoping to find many readers among Mussulmans in this way and thus as it were, through the medium of parables, to make them see the falsity of their own faith.

"I would dwell on the 400 years interval between Malachi and Christ as the test of Phariseeism, of the works of the Law,- the outward form without the inward life. Before Malachi the prophets constantly reinforced the law by expounding its spirit. After Christ the Holy Spirit dwelling in the hearts of believers revealed Him constantly to them.

I have given you in the rough what is as yet but an imperfect conception and one which will probably take on a somewhat different shape as I proceed in developing it.

If you think the purpose a wise one I should be very glad for any suggestions should you have time to think it over. The idea is an outgrowth of my discussions with the Behaes, and is primarily for the purpose of showing the Jews who are not already given over to the delusion that Beha is God, and therefore that any absurd interpretation he makes of the Scriptures must be true - of showing them how very far this Gnostic heresy diverges from the truth in its ultimate development as seen from afar by their own prophets.

Hamādan, June 21, 1899

"Five times in my previous life - not counting my conversion, I have met the Lord -- twice in warning, twice in blessing, and once at Hissar on my way home from Tabriz of which I have told you, in which I learned that I should be required to accept, or at least not refuse to accept, an appointment which would be tendered me by the Shah. I have learned through these things, and through a thousand other instances of a less pronounced character, in which I have felt sure that the course of my bark was directed by an unseen pilot, to feel that the line dividing the natural and the supernatural is an imaginary one and that all nature is supernatural and all the supernatural is perfectly natural, the only requirement being that we ourselves should become

properly adjusted to our environment in order to recognize , to appreciate it in whatever form it may appeal to us. So any vision is, I believe, in one sense supernatural and in another sense, quite natural. I have suffered from the usual reaction which seems inseparable from every advance I make in the spiritual life, but I have never doubted that the Lord Jesus graciously appeared to me on that occasion, and that He in that wonderful and magnificent way answered my prayer for direction. So far, I have got no further with my book than to make a rough draft of the scheme. It may be I shall never put it on paper, but I have been marvellously encouraged within the past month or two in the hope that it's purpose was being written on the hearts of the young men who have come under my influence in Hamadan (none of them know anything of the vision.

"But I am in training by a better master than is found in books, even religious books, excepting always the Bible. Since that last only too short conversation I had with you on the life in the Spirit, your emphatic statement that to receive Christ was to receive all He had to give, has never lost its grip upon me, though the usual vacation came, during which I wrote you a letter in which my ignorance of experimental Christianity was abundantly displayed. My letter was not fairly in its way until I found reason to recant my statements in that letter, and now I am trying to make others believe the truth of what you said, as I have been convinced myself by the test of experience, since the beginning of this present month. Paul's declaration in Gal. 4, 6 that God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into my heart

crying Abba Father (dear Father) seems to me so much more tender an expression for one who does not know Syriac or Hebrew) to represent Himself there and to act for me in the petition and intercession which from my own lips seemed so constantly to fall on unwilling or heedless ears - the thought that I had no more to strive, no more to labor, but simply to yield myself to the Spirit of Jesus, whom the Father had sent to do for me this, which He knew I could not do for myself - this seems simple enough now, but never before had I been able to conceive of it except as an intellectual abstraction which was doubtless true, but of which I was wholly unable to get a real spiritual grasp. It may interest you to know that this quickened spiritual apprehension followed soon after the surrender of several things which had come to appear to me as coming under the head of doubtful things. The most difficult was to give up entirely the reading of secular newspapers, even of secular reading in the religious papers, even the reading of the telegraphic public news which we get weekly from Teheran. This did not come all at once. I yielded little by little. It was a hard pull, for from my childhood I had been deeply interested in political questions and in maturer life, in world politics, and now when it looks almost as if the axis of the world was about to be changed, to relegate one's self to a hermit cell is at least a transition. But for more than a month I have passed on newspapers and public news unopened, and I don't know whether we have beaten the Filipinos, whether Alger or Milis have come out ahead, whether the Peace Conference has met, whether Russia and England have come to an agreement in China, whether Dreyfus is

adjudged to have the right of a fair trial or not, etc, etc. etc. except as I hear them casually mentioned by others.

You may say this is an extreme measure, perhaps savoring of fanaticism. But I think it is not. It is only when the eye offends that it is to be plucked out, and I am sure my sympathies entered too deeply into most of these burning questions of the day to avoid crowding out much that Christ was ready to put into its place were there vacant room there. It was not simply the time taken up in reading of these things, it was the currents of thought set in action by them which inhibited spiritual meditation. During this thirty days I have felt that probably the Lord had a great trial for me to undergo, and this unknown and ill defined portent has troubled me more than the things I could look upon and size up. Despite all efforts to commit my way unto the Lord, and to make Him Lord of everything, known and unknown, present and future, I have found it difficult to shake off the dread of impending evil which has haunted me. But this afternoon I think I have committed it all to the Lord, and that He has accepted it, and I have in consequence a great peace.

Hamadan, Sept. 14, 1899

"I have long been expecting the fiery trial which was to try me, as made known at Varseh Nov. 27, and I feel that this will work out the "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" promised to them that are thus exercised.)

Minneapolis, Feb. 24, 1900

"My feet had almost gone, but thank God, I believe they have at last struck bottom, and are not planted firmly on the Rock. I am convinced that God has some great purpose hidden in these cataclysms in which He has, from time to time visited me. But have I not prayed to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and shall I think it strange if the fiery trial comes as a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning?? During these past days I have felt that I had been swept through and through with a tempest of fire. The Hebrews came out of the furnace without the smell of fire upon their garments. I had no garments left, after the fire had done its work on me, nor anything left, without or within. I felt that I was like a new born babe, who had everything to learn from the beginning. And so I am trying patiently to follow the leadings of the Spirit, and be taught of Him, trusting Him to give me an understanding, and that through obedience to His Will I shall come to know Christ in the knowledge of Whom is eternal life.

"Do you happen to remember a sermon of Phillips Brooks on obedience to law, in which he shows how, in order to command any physical force, one must first understand and become obedient to the law of that force, and could you tell me where I can find it? Is it not true that to be led of the Spirit in one thing, demands entire submission to the Spirit's leadership in all things, and that with this submission comes power to do all that the Spirit sees that God has planned for us to do?

Annisquam, July 12, 1900

"It is pretty nearly all over with me. It is doubtless psychological to a large extent, but it none the less unfits me for fellowship with God or man, and for helpfulness to those who need so much the help that I only could give. I must accept what God has seen fit to send to me of suffering. If only I could suffer alone, - but that I suppose is denied to all men. It has **always** appeared to me to be the hardest thing I could be called upon to do, to appear to have put my hand to the plow and turned back. I must now accept this - to appear before men as having denied Christ. Did He appear in the presence of the intelligencia to have denied the Father, when He uttered that despairing cry on the Cross? Pray for me, who cannot pray for myself.

Annisquam, Aug. 15, 1900

"I have come to the conclusion that all my love of God in the past has had selfishness as its controlling motive, and that the Lord sees no other way to heal the malady but to sweep away the whole structure built upon so false a foundation, so that I may begin at last to build aright. But I cannot now expect to do more than lay the foundations of the new building, and must be content so far as the world and my fellow Christians are concerned to be looked upon as a heathen and a publican, as one who undertook to construct a large building and counted not the cost, as one who put his hand to the plow and turned back. But I have yet the hope that if my cluster adorn not the vine nor the table

yet that some of its berries may, crushed in the winepress, yield a little wine, or at least, some essence to flavor the good wine of other clusters.

Wellesley, Jan. 10, 1901

You have rendered me a service the greatest which it has ever been in the power of one man to pay to another, and I shall not attempt to thank you, for I can not do it adequately till we meet where words are not needed to express our thoughts. I have been trying to account for the effect produced by the few words you spoke while we waited at the station, for they were only such things as I was familiar with and such as I have spoken to others. Possible the fact that I was in a despairing mood, and that all things in earth and heaven seemed to be against me, and to have the mastery of me, may have made me more receptive than usual, but my only way of accounting for it is that our Lord sent you here to speak to me, that through you I might receive the Holy Ghost. For I have long recognized the truth of Paul's saying, "No man can say, Jesus is Lord but in the Holy Spirit."

I got little comfort for some time for I did not know how I could exercise my will any more strongly or more persistently than I had already done. I had indeed in this way found peace many times, but it was always the familiar words I said "I am going to act on that promise, and to accept that I am righteous - right with Christ-- for that is what I have been praying for, and if these words are true I am already right with Him. I am going to act on that assumption whether or not I am conscious of any change either emotional

dynamic." I recognized no change of any kind till Jan. 1st, when the sky began to break a little. Jan. 2nd, I began on the book which was evidently the duty that lay nearest at hand, Mirza Musa having sent me an abstract of Aga Meyer's work, and I have since put in all my spare time at this with great zest. And I have the witness of the Spirit that I am a Son of God!

I don't think it has been exactly a case of abdominal analysis though that has entered into the matter. But so far as I can understand it my sin has been in listening to the temptation with which Satan tried to deceive Christ, "If thou be the Son of God, assure thyself of the fact by exercising the power of the Son." I could not believe because I felt no consciousness of power, because with all my faith, stones refused to become bread, because the theory would not resolve itself into the fact. And I wandered forty and five years in the wilderness, because while I could believe the testimony of others that Christ desired to save me with a full salvation, I was unable to believe his own work that He has done so, - because I demanded other evidence than His own word. I think I have now struck the bed rock, and that my house will therefore not fall with the first flood that comes, as it has always done before.

Why is true faith so easy for some and so almost impossible to others? Surely I have tried to believe with all my heart for thirty years. And my life has become a monument of wasted effort during that time. But I am thankful for all that I have suffered

for myself during these years in which I have rolled the stone of Sisyphus ever up only to see it roll back crushing to ruin everything in its way, as often as the top was reached. But for the loss of others I grieve.

Wellesley, Mass. June 3, 1901

"I have always looked for intellectual enlargement to come with spiritual freedom but this is not to be till the clearer vision comes. You gave me the lift to the mountain crest behind which I had all my life been groping, and the view opened up to my new vision is so transcendent that it sometimes dazzles me, and I see men (and things) as trees walking. But as I look behind I see that my whole ideal of service for Christ, unto which I for thirty years I had sacrificed everything I have held dear, (except alas, the one thing I thought I was sacrificing - self) has been a false ideal, and that I have myself been saved as by fire, with the loss of all with which I have builded (wood, hay, stubble, all). I have learned that the pain, which I have ever longed to escape from, is yet to stay with me that I may gain the mastery over it, perhaps even to find my joy in it, as I am already finding joy in spite of it. So I am now beginning life as a little child, yet well knowing that there is not time left for developing atrophied faculties - atrophied from disuse - for service for my fellow men.

I see so clearly now, what I had at the time in part understood, a manifold meaning in the stunted spindling tree in the garden of Varseh, hardly to be recognized among the other fat and fruitful trees of the garden, and so scantily laden with undifferent fruit, and yet bearing fruit in which the Father and the Son

could take delight, and for which they were wont to resort to the garden, the fruit which had sprung from the ashes of one long past affliction to which I had never been reconciled, and in which all the fruit resulting had apparently been wrought in spite of all my resistance to the will of God in the matter. In the promise of the Lord, made with such a meaning look and smile, that he had other gardens to which one day he would take me. I at first understood another vision like the first, but soon I knew it meant more suffering, and now I know it meant through great suffering, more fruit bearing, even though the fruit be palatable to none but Christ. And so I am content, and grateful that the work begun before the foundation of the world, when I was chosen in Christ to be holy and without blemish before Him in truth, is by whatever means he has seen fit to bring it about, accomplished, and that I now truly believe.

Wellesley, Mass. July 1, 1901

"We have lately adopted the method in reading your "Studies" in the Christian Endeavor world of trying to identify the reference before looking them up. We find it adds much to the interest both in the cases where the text confirms and where it dissents from the opinion we had formed as a result of the suggestion in the "Studies." We in this way sometimes catch the light from a different angle than usual, sometimes its refraction through the cloud of our preconceived idea illuminates a previously dull and uninteresting text with prismatic color or spectral bands heightening the effect. We are going

to try studying "The Man Christ Jesus", in this way. The process is I suppose like that of reducing the light of the sun by a smoked glass, in viewing an eclipse, or rather of slowing the vibration of the ultra violet rays of the spectrum, by passing them through a solution of quinine. These rays which are thought to appear as light to the more delicately organized retinae of some of the lower animals, but all dark to ours, are translated into light rays for us by thus reducing their rate of vibration. Is it for this or a like reason, that the Holy Spirit usually exerts his influence on our hearts through the medium of one of our fellow men, rather than directly -- only those receiving of Him directly who are the elect, who are able to receive by reason of the more delicate adjustment of their spirits to His motions in them? I think so, and that this is why He sent me to speak the word that loosed me and let me go, when my petition for deliverance from Himself in person so constantly found apparently a deaf ear. Now I find myself beginning to respond more directly to His touch, and am beginning to receive from Him for others, to find the joy in intercession which was so long denied me, beginning to comprehend the meaning of Our Lord's frequent vigils, occupied in intercession, and the joy and strength they gave Him.

I am glad for what you say about Christ's personality being merged into ours in some real way. I am trying, for a long time have been trying, to get a grip of this conception in my mind which I can state in such form as not to be mistaken, innocently or willfully, for pantheism, or Sufeism, which is another term for the same thing I think.

My writing you as I did acted in some degree as a safety valve for my depression, and I am glad if it gave you no annoyance. The mists in the valley do not prevent my believing that the immovable hills are still there. I have never doubted that for thirty-one years. The trouble is that by whatever route I have endeavored to approach the hills, I have found sooner or later between them and me a great gulf fixed, fathomless and impassable. For thirty years I have forgotten everything in searching for a bridge over the chasm -- sometimes in trying to bridge it myself. Andrew Murray's book, "The Ministry of Intercession", which I read after my last return to America, led me to believe that I could build such a bridge for myself and for others by prayer - if I would only keep at it continuously enough. A pernicious book it was, to me.

The great uplift I received from you eighteen months ago, which came indeed not by any spoken words, but rather in the communication of a divine healing touch, was in the conviction that while no efforts of mine would avail to compass the chasm, it did not require to be crossed at all, that faith was all efficient to obliterate the chasm and to bring the strength of the hills home to my heart where I stood. This thought has been my stay for a year and a half, and during the present year I have sought with every faculty God has given me to let His will have free course and be glorified in me. Since I might not abound I have sought to content myself in being abased. Since I might not actively serve I have sought to glorify God while I accepted His bidding to stand and wait. But while joy does not come to

those who seek it for its own sake yet it seems to me that it must be a necessary fruit of a normal Christian life, and if after thirty one years of service its product is still only leaves, there is manifestly yet one thing lacking. I have been trying to write a book in defense of an outlying position of the Christian line of attack, in which it is incumbent on me to state what from my point of view Christianity is. I find myself in the presence of a marvellous Life, and with the assurance that that life with all that pertains to it it is my privilege to realise in my own experience. That those for whom I write may attain to my point of view they must look through the lens of my own experience. I cannot borrow any neighbor's lens for that purpose - and my own falsifies the image. For though in the matter of personal character building I know that I have made definite gain. I am conscious that the one fruit of the Spirit which is magnified more than almost any other by our Lord and by his greatest apostles - joy, - has been and continues to be conspicuously absent from my life, and that so long as it is absent, the strength of the Lord must likewise fail me; I continue a weakling, What I meant in my quotation from Khayyam was that I was determined no longer to pretend to that which I had not. I ought long ago to have ceased to struggle for that which cannot come though any agony of struggle. I am trying now to be content to walk in the darkness, even in the darkness enhanced if need be, by obloquy, and to be thankful that God's will be done in me at whatever cost to myself. In this I am upheld by a great faith that all will work together

for good, for my destiny is in the hands of a God of infinite love and of infinite resource.

Now I will henceforth write no more, about myself, My health has failed very much since I received an injury from an electric car which knocked me down in January last. I probably have much suffering in store in future, but I trust the Lord will carry me through it all to the end.

Wellesley, Mass. Dec. 29, 1902

Again I appeal to you for help. I have come to the supreme crisis of my life, and the issue, if it be not a supreme faith, lies in madness. Pray for me, my dear friend, as you have never prayed before. I have been given power to pray for myself as I never could before, and so long as I can pray I feel that I am safe. But at times I cannot do this, and then the tempest in my soul is frightful. It has many times given me peace to think that Jesus is with me in the ship - even though sleeping - to "remember Jesus Christ."

The union of two believers in prayer for a common object has a fuller promise implicitly than that of one alone. Join with me in my petition. Pray that the cup may pass, or if not that I may have strength to drink it.

It is not for myself that I ask, My life is too worthless to waste a tear upon. It is for those whom God identifies with me for time and eternity that I feel concerned. For them I would be willing - perhaps glad - to have my name blotted out of the book of God's remembrance.

I have been in the abyss, but much of the time I have felt that Jesus was with me, though perhaps sleeping, while the tempest raged. I could not have believed I could suffer so and live. Is this one of the "other gardens" the Lord promised at Varseh to take me to see? I thought at the time it was to be another vision of a similar character. to that one. Within a few weeks I came to understand that the fruit must first be borne in suffering before I should be taken to see it. How much yet remains to be fulfilled, He only knows. Pray that I may not shrink from anything he calls me to undergo, and that my specific prayer of faith may be absolutely fulfilled.

Wellesley, Mass. Mar. 12, 1903

Forgive me for writing again as I did about my own woes. I have been in the mouth of hell, and despairing men forget the rights of others in their struggle for life. Don't throw me over yet! It was not because I was worthy that you became my friend, but because God so appointed it. I am unworthy of any man's friendship. Till now I have been buoyed up by the hope that I would yet become worthy of something, but hope has fled, and the catastrophe, so long dreaded, waits at the threshold. Nothing can not avert its coming, but your friendship, if it may yet hold true after so long and severe a strain, may possibly postpone it for a little while.

I am coming to a clearer vision but shall I ever again dare to believe that I have an anchor that will not drag in a gale. I do not know whether it was intended that my chief occupation in life should be the delineation of my own frontiers. This appears to be all I have accomplished at any rate, but it has been pretty effectually done and I am appalled to discover how narrow a circle circumscribes my total endowment, mental, moral, and spiritual & appalled to see how poor a creature it is whom God is trying to make something out of.

I never before quite understood our Lord's meaning in telling His disciples not to rejoice because the devils were subject to them, but to rejoice that their own names were written in heaven. The marvel is there - that I have any share in so great a deliverance and I feel thankful to have a crumb that falls from a true disciple's table, I think I am effectually cured of the hope or desire to cast out devils, I shall be thankful enough to be a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord and to serve those that enter therein, is sufficient cause for thankfulness and joy.

Wellesley, Feb. 16, 1903 .

Since you were here I have been much of the time in the confines of the "City of Dreadful Night" and looking any time to be drawn into its vortex.

It is becoming clear to me that there was a world more of meaning to that remark of the Lord's as He dismissed

me that day at Varseh than I have ever comprehended, and that my ministry,- the only ministry I have had or am to have, is suffering. I have never known any real joy in life, not even in my early childhood, that was not so evanescent as to be practically illusory. I have never been really adjusted to my environment, and now that my memory has so completely failed me, this becomes acutely accentuated. But I never forget the painful things, except when to have remembered them would have saved me from others more painful. I understand what such conditions inevitably lead to, and that only the joy of the Lord can save me from the abyss of settled melancholia. If religious experience is independent, as you say, of temperament, would you go so far as to say that faith can conquer melancholia - the difference being only one of degree? I do not suffer only from imaginary ills - there is always a real one of grave import on the horizon ready to culminate when the last one has set, so I am never without a reason for being depressed. When the joy of the Lord comes, as sometimes it does, I realize the expulsive power of the new affection, and think nothing of my ills. But oh, how brief and infrequent are such experiences.

And yet I feel that the idea you have suggested has taken a real grip upon my mind, and is leading to something which, though I cannot call it joy, is yet suggestive of a state of exaltation of a higher order than the joy of the physical sense which I, at least, have known, higher perhaps than any

experience I have had of the joy of the Lord, higher in this, that it would seem to have a higher sanction, a source less open to question and therefore more vital - than the joy which has its physical basis in the vascular condition of the solar plexus. I am theorizing only at present, there is not yet enough of reality in it to do more but I have a "larger hope" than before, and certainly it has helped me over some very rough places.

Wellesley, June 3rd, 1903

Mrs. Holmes and I enjoyed very much the reading of Prof. Beecher's article, which is very reasonable and convincing. And yet, to accept as much as Prof. Beecher has accepted of the "modern view" of the Scriptures, must not one have radically changed his point of view? How far then will he be able to reject what the new perspective discloses? It is a perilous time for men whose faith in Christ depends solely on external evidence -- where the witness of the word is not confirmed by the witness of the spirit in the heart.

There is no more place for me among the ranks of the workers, and I should never dare to assume responsibility for the treatment of sickness. I have performed my little part on the world's stage and the curtain is rung down for me. Thirty three years ago I set out in quest of the Holy Grail - in search of personal fellowship with Christ. I closed my Shakespeare, my Ruskin, my Huxley and Gray and Dana, determined to make my Bible and books interpreting the Bible, my sole study, outside of absolutely necessary professional

reading till I knew the Scriptures, and through them, the Christ. These earlier treasures have remained closed, but I have not learned the Scriptures, and, as a personal abiding presence, such as I have felt He must be to me, and such as the Scriptures seemed to represent Him, I do not know the Christ. I staked my power for good in the world on this conception of Him, as a possibility for any sincere believer to realize - and I have lost! That the cause is in myself, does not as I see help the matter. James's melancholic recognized his own madness, but that did not give him sanity - and, whatever his previous responsibility, anyone would accept his present plea, that he "could not help being crazy." I know that self is at the bottom of my malady, but for a third of a century I have, with ever growing intensity, and with agonizing prayer and endeavor, sought deliverance from self. I have now followed my appointed path till it has led me over the precipice, down into, and through, the abyss of fire. I have emerged, even though maimed, not indeed into the midst of the everlasting hills, but at least into a habitable valley on the farther side of the gulf, and so much nearer my goal. I have seen myself in my nakedness, and now I in part understand. The stony place, with its shallow covering of soil, is not appointed to bring forth thirty, sixty, a hundred fold but rather to a long succession of springtime greenness and summer blight, till the rocky substratum is disintegrated, and the way prepared for other sowers and other reaping. I am trying to be thankful, to have any place in God's plan, but negation, even negation

of self, is a sterile soil to cultivate, if there be no eternal affirmation to complement it. The house may be empty, swept and garnished, but if it be not filled with Christ, it will yet be filled with something.

I have given up the miserable attempt to write the book, though with it I must surrender all that gave meaning to the "vision". But for the supposed "call", the undertaking was grotesque at the outset. But the long awaited message has not come to be delivered - the witness of the Spirit to the words which, thus unconfirmed, are but an idle tale. I cannot honestly testify in terms of another's experience, to that to which the Spirit has not borne witness, in my own heart, much as I may believe it and wish to have others believe it.

This is the last reference I shall make I hope, to anyone, to my spiritual life. If I may be permitted to look at Christ, I hope, even though the vision be obscure, to be delivered from looking at my own soul. I hope I may succeed in not thinking at all about it. How I can help this if I study the old texts, shut up as I am to myself, I do not know. Could I lose myself in ministering to the suffering poor, could I identify myself with Christ in service to his little ones, I would be glad to cleanse the sores of the Persian lepers sitting in the dust by the roadside. But all the activities of Christ's ministry, are shut up to me, and the Spirit gives me no warrant to pray for those I cannot serve in the flesh. I can only quiet myself as a child that is weaned of its

mother, for I have exercised myself in great matters, in things too high for me.

Boonton, July 23, 1907

The book "God and the Soul", which I return to you by same mail is remarkable for the lucidity of its statements of philosophical principles. You will not indorse all the author says in the latter part of the book, and yet Emerson's dictum, properly qualified, must be true, that the test of an inspired utterance is that it inspires us. If I fulfill the conditions imposed upon me by the Scriptures in my readings, and then am not inspired, it cannot in the nature of things be an inspired book to me at the time, however much I may believe that it inspires others, and desire that it may inspire me. I may have faith, but do not have inspiration, strength, spiritual life. And heartily as I have believed all my life in the position of the author that the natural faculties that the natural faculties which God has given us in which to mirror his divine nature were sufficient to enable us to respond to his appeals to our consciousness, I am coming more and more to the conviction that Gladstone and the older theologians were right, and the author is wrong, and that the higher reaches of spiritual life at any rate, are reserved for those whom Paul designates as "the elect."

It is a feast of fat things which this author spreads before us, but it is not one to which he permits me to sit down. For he says (p.166) that "the strength for a noble

moral life which religion gives lies in the bestowal of a Companion, a Friend, on the lonely soul of man" and (p.177) "that we may enter into actual (conscious) communion with God (as Person) in prayer, drawing from that communion peace, gladness and moral strength". The words in parenthesis are the authors, though they are not found in the sentence quoted. And the thought is his as they are the words and the thought of all who have written of the deeper life of the Spirit. Lyman Abbott, in a recent editorial, (Outlook 13 July) calls on us to hear the words God is speaking in every mystic consciousness of a transcendent presence communing with us in ^{an} inexpressible fellowship". I cannot see how Christ's own oft repeated words can be interpreted in any other sense than that conscious communion is the privilege of any one who will come to him. The author so interprets it and he assumes that the consciousness of every man who accepts the gracious invitation will verify it. But what he assumes and Lyman Abbott assumes as a fact of experience, my own consciousness refuses its assent to, for to my experience it is not a fact of consciousness. Yet I have, so far as I know fulfilled the conditions, at least during the past eighteen months, to the very utmost limit of the powers, intellectual and spiritual, which God has given me. The quest of the Barmecide was not refreshed by assuming the reality of the forms he underwent of eating savory dishes, and my strong faith that I was really experiencing spiritual realities which my consciousness for some reason failed to recognize, has not resulted in any noticeable accession of

spiritual strength. On the contrary, I have constantly been in a state of semi-starvation and have seldom had anything to divide with anyone else.

I have always been taught to look upon the experience of the true Christian as something very different from what has proved to be my own. I find it so characterized in the Christian Scriptures, and by every pulpit and prayer meeting utterance. The promises are conditional, so far as I understand them, on faith alone and repentance without regard to merit. Surely I have no claim if merit is the condition, but I understand the Gospel to have Christ as the basis of the Christian's faith and not any worthiness in himself. If, during the past eighteen months I have not believed, then I confess my inability to believe. My experiences have in the past taken a pretty broad range. For three or four years in my early life I was wholly without faith in a future life. The pendulum has never swung so far back since then, but when, that winter in California, I found the ground cut under my feet, I had grave doubts whether it held out any hope for me. When faith returned it was based on the testimony of the reason rather than of the emotions, it was based on the conviction that the nature of things demanded a Savior and that without Christ God's personality was undemonstratable, and that without a personal God there was no real sanction for righteousness. I compelled my will to accept what my longings, my unappeasable longings, cried out for, but I presume my longings were more for companionship than for righteousness, that I sought for

solace perhaps rather than for something higher. But during these eighteen months I have sought to the uttermost to be unselfish in my service to Christ. I have thought of Christ as being more than all his gifts, as being more than the sum of all his attributes, as possessing a personality which transcended anything that we have power to conceive of, and into relation with which it was only possible for us to enter by faith.

I don't know what the "ego" is which so strongly dominated my will. I only know that it was dominated and held to its work by some power within me in spite of the daily recurring consciousness that prayer and delight or help in God's word were denied me. At least the will, or the ego which gave direction to the will, seems to have exhausted itself in further effort, and become paralysed. The rod which comforts is not, to the consciousness, the same thing as the rod which scourges.

Yet I would not be understood as insisting that Christ must on a priority considerations reveal Himself to my spiritual consciousness. As I said, once before, He may have the best of reasons for standing in the shadow while keeping watch above His own. Till the bar is crossed the pilot may wisely keep his face invisible. This may be wise and it may be loving, and it may be (an invisible) companionship. But I cannot understand how it can be a fulfillment of the promises in the Gospel and how it can be in accord with the claims put forth in the book and throughout all Christian literature for the spiritual life. The only inference to be drawn therefore is that such as I are still in the gall of bitterness (which is clear enough)

and in the bond of iniquity, or else, which I prefer to believe, that the elect constitute a higher order of believers to whom are committed the blessings of personal companionship with the Master and thereby the privilege of speaking in his name with power to others.

Is the author scientific in saying that the argument for physical and spiritual experience is "exactly the same." Science takes account of all the facts. Now physical tests give uniform results, and I can unify those of my neighbor, as that the sun is in the heavens, etc. But spiritual tests do not give uniform results, in the same sense as in the physical world. Only a very small fraction of mankind fail to see the sun, if the will to do so exists. But to how tremendous a proportion of these who long for spiritual vision is the gift denied.

Boonton, N. J. May 23, 1908

I want you also to know that light has come to me on some of the dark problems about which I have from time to time sought your counsel, and on which your help has been so valuable and so highly appreciated.

There is much yet on which I must wait for further light. Why the Scriptures should be still, to so large an extent a closed book to me as a help to devotional exercise, why supplication for others should so quickly become a mentally fatiguing, instead of an exhilarating exercise, I do not know. I must be content to wait on the Spirit's times, and the Spirit's methods of instruction, and to be used according to the Spirit's purpose.

Aug. 28, 1909

Now I want to tell you of a great joy that has come into my life. Yesterday in clearing up some old papers, I found a letter of yours, written five years ago, in reply to one of my ready-to-halt letters. In it you tell of your prayers for me that that experience might pass away, "to be succeeded by an even better and more tranquil realization than I have ever known before of the peace and love of God." I am glad to tell you that your prayer has been answered, and that for two months I have enjoyed a "tranquil realization of fellowship with Christ such as I have never experienced before save for the briefest periods and at long intervals. I rejoice now with fear and trembling remembering my many disappointments and yet I do rejoice with great joy. Before the answer came I was subjected to a fearful temptation, a temptation to deny Christ and turn my back upon Him. It seemed to have been the final effort of the tempter, and I was given grace to cast myself wholly on Christ. He had never before crowded me into quite so close quarters. It was the desperateness of the temptation that revealed to me Christ's power to give aid in the strengthening of my faith. And now I can ask all things, feeling I am accepted in the Beloved, and that He delighteth to give more than I can ask or think of asking. But in prayer I am but a little child learning my a b c's, Forty years literally have I wandered in the wilderness, only now have I crossed the Jordan to the Promised Land. Is not this one of the "other gardens",

in which I had the promise eleven years ago at Varseh that
I should walk with my Lord?

Dr. Holmes died peacefully at Pointon, N.J., on May 10, 1910, and was buried there by the hands of friends who had become devoted to him, so that many people in affliction to him wherever he went and wherever he dwelt.

The kind of man he was and the work he did have been clearly revealed. It remains only to record some of the tributes to him written by a few of those who knew him best. One of these was the Rev. W. R. Stocking, for nine years one of the missionaries in Armenia, now Mesazish.

"I had the pleasure in 1874 of meeting the reinforcements for the Western Persia Mission when they landed at Trebizond on the Black Sea, and escorting the party on the overland journey of seven hundred miles to the City of Urmia.

"The group was made up of Rev. Joseph L. Potter, Miss Annie Poore, Miss Mary K. Van Duzee and Dr. and Mrs. George A. Holmes. From the port of Trebizond to Erzurum there is a fine wagon road, and our party of six rode in the station wagon which I borrowed from the American missionaries and drove with my own horses. The native servants with our needed baggage, including bedding and the saddles for use beyond Erzurum, were all carried in a springless, creaking-like Russian wagon. We were certainly a happy, jolly company. The necessary ascent climbed the wooded mountains overlooking the Turin was not nearly beautiful, but majestic. The winding line of overtaking on the multiform caravan - made up of oxen, mules, horses and donkeys, with occasional strings of ponderous wheeled, creakingly squeaking carts - furnished us and of amusement to the new comers. The sharp cries of the bustling multitudes as they sought to get their ends out of our way, mingled with the notes of the dinner bells, sometimes reached from the wooded steep, caused a medley of sounds, which are not soon forgotten.

"From Erzurum our party moved with a caravan of its extra pack horses for baggage and servants. The baggage included tents, camp beds, and bedding

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with some cooking utensils and some provisions. The daily routine of the boys' evening, and breaking up and starting in the early morning, were all interesting and often birth-provoking. Then, too, the new games, whether of landscape, village, flocks or agricultural activities were entertaining and instructive. At these were simple oral lessons in the native language, furnished a entertaining diversion and all amusement.

"Dr. Holzer, in my memory a very good doctor, was the one member of that party who adapted himself most quickly to the new conditions. He had served in the U. S. Army during the Civil War and therefore had accustomed to horseback riding. That experience also made it easier for him to meet the limitations and hardships of camping out. He had a most courteous yet dignified manner which commended him to all alike, and a responsiveness into boot camp, a quality greatly to be desired in a missionary, especially in a frontier physician.

"A quick correct ear is a good help in acquiring a new language. Dr. Hoopes seemed to be such that and in a very short time he was able not only to return the universal salutation 'Salam Alakin' (Peace be to you) by saying 'Alakin salam' (My peace return to you) but actually learned to use other courtesies.

"In a country where educated physicians are very scarce a 'Habeesh Bahshee' (head doctor) is a person who could not but be privileged which might not be granted to others. This fact accounts in part for the tremendous influence which some of the able and skillful physicians have secured in the benighted lands.

"I can never forget Dr. Holzer's being 'father' in my heart in connection with the birth of our first born (train of letters). He was so strong, helpful, sympathetic. His forceful presence inspired confidence. Very naturally a token of our love and appreciation of his services, we gave his name to one of the girls.

"In connection with our station numbers, or program and reference

his strong faith in God and in the power of the gospel, and an earnestness and directness to his petitions, and in all questions of mission policy he showed a statesman's-like grasp of the situation. He was a wise councillor."

The second paper is from Mrs. S. S. Wilson for thirty years in Tabriz, daughter of Mrs. A. J. Shen, one of the earlier missionaries in Armenia; and wife of one of the ablest men in Persia:

"My first sight of Dr. Holmes was at a meeting of the Board of the North West, in Cedar Rapids, when my mother introduced him to the audience as 'Luke, the Beloved Physician.' He was greeted with prolonged applause. At the time he was practicing there, having returned from Persia on account of his wife's health; later he again was appointed to the mission field, but transferred from Armenia to Tabriz.

"There I made his acquaintance, when we arrived in 1896, and found in him a counsellor and friend. He had a special gift for friendship and drew others by his warm sympathy, genial kindness, and an indefinable charm. All felt it, from the Crown Prince down to the poorest patient in his dispensary. The Crown Prince became so attached to him, that he insisted on his accepting the position of court physician, and delighted to call him often in attendance. He would lay his hand on his shoulder affectionately and ask him to become a Musliman. Doctor would respond: 'I would to God that thou wert such as I am'. It was a great surprise to this Prince, when his favorite 'servant' resigned his high position to take his invalid wife to London for an operation. The Prince could not understand such devotion to a woman, and said: 'I'll get you another, young and beautiful. She's already ray-haired.' Doctor told him us he never wanted as much to kick a man. To the Prince and the whole city, while they marveled, saw an example of the love and loyalty of a Christian marriage.

"Dr. Holmes lacked the sense of seeking his own advantage and was generous

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to a fault. He also had some characteristics which were often joked about among us all- his utter disregard of time and his own comfort in his absorption in his work. He dropped in to see us one evening at nine and I asked 'Have you had dinner?' With a reminiscent look he explained: 'Why, I had so many calls, I believe I forgot to go home to dinner.' I wondered if sweet, long-suffering Mrs. Holmes was still waiting dinner for him.

"One summer we spent in a Persian Garden in tents, at the invitation of the owner, a grateful patient of his. When we arrived after several hours of riding, we found a delicious lunch of Persian dishes spread for us under the trees, which reminded us of the magic of the Arabian nights and in the following weeks this Persian lady loaded us with kindnesses, as if she could not do enough to show her appreciation of 'the Beloved Physician'. While the rest of us enjoyed this Paradise, he would leave every morning at five o'clock to ride to his work in the city. He would start in a heavy overcoat in the chill of the morning and one day, when he got back in the evening, he complained of the intense heat. We asked 'Did you wear that overcoat all day?' and with a laugh he had to acknowledge that might have increased the temperature.

"Dr. Holmes was more than a doctor, skilful, famous and adored by all to whom he ministered. He had a message to give for Christ and beside the many opportunities he improved in his practice, he was Superintendent of the Sunday School and took his turn in leading a very popular English service for Europeans held Sunday evenings. I remember well one of his sermons, carefully written out, on 'The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.' It meant a great deal to have his strong testimony to a spiritual life given before such an audience, all of whom had the greatest admiration for him.

"Dr. Holmes truly used all his skill and influence to prepare the way for Mission work and to protect and promote it, as he could more than anyone else on account of his position and the high regard he had won from Moslem officials. For

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...ple, though a small incident,, he introduced me into the exclusive
harem of the Crown Princess (son-in-law) to the royal princess made known
and so through his account of open door into high class Moslem houses. In in
and in, in his personal interview with Prince or Governor ... shield and hurded
off ...

"To this day, though thirty years have passed, since he lived in
Tabriz, his name is remembered and incidents are recalled of his successful
and devoted ... for the ..."

The third tribute is from Miss Margaret (Gratia) V. Holliday, for
thirty years ... Tabriz, one of the kindest, richest and most litte
... out to work among the Mohammedans.

"I will gladly give you all the help I can, though I will not do
justice to his beautiful character, or show the effect it had on those who
knew him ..."

"It was but a few days ago I met ... who had been a student
of his, and still was, a lifelong friend. This man was filled with
... of the ... which led him to ... and ... to
Europe, to ... list ... to ... in, to be
... to ... his ... Dr. Holmes, whose
... his ...
fresh ... not ... of the ... relation
formed and the kindness of ... Dr. Holmes'
... and ... the ... and
children ... to ... of his ...
with the family.

"Dr. Holmes certainly had ... for ... on ... the first
things I ... his, was in connection with Dr. ... of ...
who had seriously broken down in health. ... about

most of them used European books and tried to inform themselves, as well as they could, of matters connected with their profession. Those educated only in this country labored under certain drawbacks, incident to the backward state of civilization, but some, even of these, were not to be despised. He mentioned one only whose name was an adept in performing a certain difficult surgical operation, and said he was quite as successful in that specialty as any one. These physicians wished Dr. Holmes to be introduced in the palace, but strong influence was brought to bear against it, till two of the children of the Prince were dangerously ill, and he was induced to call the American doctor in consultation. Dr. Holmes' diagnosis was that it was diphtheria; the European swore it was not, and that the American knew nothing of the matter. The chemical test proved that he was the ignorant and the cases were put in Dr. Holmes' charge. It was long before the days of the antitoxine treatment, but the children made a good recovery. The royal Princess, who was the head of the Prince's harem, insisted on becoming a patient of the new doctor, and his treatment was crowned with brilliant success in her case also. The Prince was strongly drawn to him and came to trust and lean upon him, not only as a weak character supports itself on a disinterested friend, who has nothing to gain or lose from him, who is absolutely desirous of helping and who really loves him. The attachment was mutual, dissimilar as were the two men; while Dr. Holmes was praying with all his heart that Christ might be revealed to the Prince, he was also praying that the physician might accept Islam, 'If you can only weep one sincere tear for the Imam Hussein, it will insure your eternal salvation.' This friendship was a cause of embarrassment, and occasioned much jealousy and intrigue. When the physicians would be called to an audience, all, the European, as well as the Persians would be left to stand at the lower end of the room by the entrance door, while the American would be called up and made to sit by the Prince on the same cushion, a difference far from being pleasant to a diffident and humble man. The Prince insisted that he must relinquish his missionary connection and

also in this country than to give some of us ideas and ideals, would have made him a valuable man. He was wise in counsel and knew how to straighten out many a tangled skein. I have just been looking over the only thing at hand from his pen; you will find it in the book entitled 'Our Moslem Sisters' pp. 206-213. It is taken from an article he wrote for 'Woman's Work' and is a good specimen of his beautiful literary style. It is a matter of regret that he did not write more for publication.

"A dangerous and prolonged illness taught me to appreciate in some measure the character of my 'beloved physician'; I can see him now as he would enter the sickroom with his cheerful face and conversation adopted to cheer the convalescent; I can hear his hearty laugh and see his smile.

"But the most precious memory is of the Christian life and devotion to the Master whom he loved, and to whom he was fully consecrated.

"An Armenian merchant, whose life he had saved when accidentally poisoned, was heard to say, 'I am an infidel; I have no faith in God or Christianity, but if there is such a thing as a Christian in this world, Dr. Holmes is that Christian.'

"This is the impression left by him in Persia, where after nearly thirty years, there remain Christians and Moslems, who remember him with love and gratitude.

"Of such as he was, there be few on earth,
Of such as he is, there are many in heaven.
And life is all the sweeter that he lived,
And all he loved more sacred for his sake.
And death is all the brighter that he died,
And heaven is all the happier that he's there."

The fourth tribute is Miss Annie Montgomery's. Miss Montgomery, "the Great Lady" as she was called in Hamadan, and her sister Charlotte were from Prince Edward Island and retained their British citizenship though they served as American missionaries, Annie for thirty-five years and Charlotte for nineteen years. They were extraordinary women, devoted, forceful, positive and unselfish:

"There is one story I am sure you cannot have from anyone else and, Oh! how many of us could write, of his Christlikeness, of his humility, of his faithfulness, of his wise judgment in the administration of affairs, of his self-abnegation, losing

sight altogether of self, that God might be glorified - and with his feet walking among men, his heart ever in heaven. I can remember so well, on one of his journeys with Mr. Whipple, they began talking of the home Christ had gone to prepare, and became so absorbed in the theme, that they altogether forgot the road they were traveling, and before they came back to earthly things, they had wandered many farsakhs from their way. As I recollect the story I meant to tell, it was this. A woman having an immense tumor came to the Friday prayer-meeting, in the Faith Hubbard School. She was assured there was only one human agency, that could help her, and that was an operation by Dr. Holmes. I can see her as she would sit panting by the window at the meetings, as Mrs. Hawkes in her beautiful Persian, or some one else, told of the way of life, or the healing, that the Good Physician alone could give, and day by day the necessity of immediate operation became more and more apparent. However she applied to Dr. Holmes and then his characteristic wisdom and prudence were shown, in the way in which he left nothing undone, that could insure immunity from danger to the work, if the operation should have a fatal result. The women was a sayé, and their lives are considered peculiarly sacred in Persia so of course there was more danger in attempting the operation on that account. Dr. Holmes succeeded in getting the paper granting permission for him to perform the operation, signed by every friend, every official, every ecclesiastic, who could possibly make any objection, or stir up any opposition. Then think of the next set of difficulties that must be overcome. Such an operation had never been performed by a gentleman in Persia as far as I know on a Moslem woman. Indeed before his coming here it would have been considered utterly impossible but the request of the Firman Firna, the old king's son-in-law, who had been governor of Tabriz, that Dr. Holmes go to Kermanshah and attend his daughter in her confinement, exerted a powerful influence in Mr. Holmes' favour among all classes of men and women in Persia. Then think of such a very critical operation having to be performed in a filthy Persian mud house and without trained assistants. I who had never had any training except what experience gave me in the case of common ailments in a Girls Boarding School, and in one major

Surgical operation performed on a missionary, was the only nurse he could hope to have. His assistants were just young men who had been in his medical class and who were not very active in the details of their work many of which were very repugnant to them as Jews. One great comfort was that the samovar would furnish us plenty of boiled water but from where could we find sterilized water that would cool the boiling water? Then the Faith Hubbard School kettles were called into requisition and they were filled and boiled and stopped hermetically the night before and then carried across the city at least two miles in the dim light of the next morning's dawn. When I at that time reached the dispensary it was only to find that the assistants who had promised to have everything ready, and be ready to start from there to prepare the mid room, had failed yet to appear and Oh! what tedious delays awaited him before we could possibly get even the preparations possible then in Hamadan completed. Then think that this was all being done when he was in the deepest anxiety about his dearest friend and was preparing for his departure in a few days in answer to a telegraphic summons. I provided the sheets and clothing necessary for the patient, but think of an expert at home performing an operation for abdominal tumor in such a room. Only those who have lived in such surroundings in Persia can imagine the quantity and vilences of the accumulated. Then the other difficulties that had to be overcome. Think of an expert in America, for instance, performing an operation on a body which could only have a Persian bath. The law requires, I have heard, that the water in which all comers bathe shall be changed, at least, once in three months, and then the surgeon had never seen and must not see the body of the patient. The instrument for drawing off the fluid had to be inserted by measurements I could take under a rubber sheet that completely enveloped the body of the patient, and a hole was cut in the rubber sheet for the insertion of the instrument. Then the patient was anaestheticized and for four hours Dr. Holmes worked while Charlotte prayed at home, and as I stood and watched him every breath was a prayer that his heart might not fail him and Doctor and patient die together. A few days after when Dr. Holmes had got about fourteen miles from Hamadan on his homeward journey such an attack came on when his hands, arms, and his face were so blue those with him feared he would never speak again. Before

the operation began I had stationed a horseman at the door, and at a given signal he was to race to the Faith Hubbard School and bring the hot coffee and food Charlotte had ready and waiting, and when the operation was so far advanced that I saw he would get back by the time the patient was put to bed the man started, and when the patient was laid in her bed we laid Dr. Holmes exhausted in the steamer chair I had brought over. His coffee was ready and he rested before he mounted his horse and rode home. The patient had no better nurse than I who am only a born nurse, but in spite of that, and all the septic surroundings, Dr. Holmes was able to leave her at the time appointed for his journey, and she soon was so far recovered that she was able to take all the nourishment that we and Mrs. Hawkes would supply for the rest of her life; and when after some years she died of another disease we had the joy of knowing that while we had been providing food for her she had been accumulating a fortune of 2000 krens which she bequeathed to her mother, and we had another lesson in not allowing our sympathy to outrun our judgment."

The fifth tribute is from Mirza Saeed Khan, the best known Persian physician, a converted Mohammedan Kurd, a scholar and a gentleman, unflinching in his Christian testimony and respected and honored by all - Moslem, Jew and Christian:

"It was in 1884 when the dear Dr. Holmes and the late beloved Mr. Whipple came to Hamadan that I got my first impression about their gentleness and manner of life. A few years later while he was in the capital with the late Shah (then the Crown Prince) a telegram told him of the serious illness of Dr. Alexander's daughter. Although the late Shah was unwilling to let him go, yet he pressed and insisted upon going to Hamadan, and in spite of the weakness of the body, faced the rough ride on horseback in winter. Those who have made similar journeys in those days and have roughed it with those poor skeleton chaparral horses know how hard it must have been. In the absence of Dr. Alexander I attended a few patients in the dispensary. I remember one night though late I went and ventured to ask him to go with me and see a poor Jew who was suffering. I kept asking myself, 'Will the physician to the Crown Prince be willing to go with me at

such an hour of the night? Will he be willing to see such a poor man?' At once he went with me frankly and gladly and helped me and the poor patient. Too, during the few days of his stay he was aiming at teaching me something and giving me advice as to what books to read.

"It was the happy lot of Hamadan and all the districts about early in the spring of 1893 that Dr. Holmes and family came to stay there. The first thing that struck me was this. The muleteer which brought him to Hamadan from Urmī was ill and wanted to leave. The doctor firmly refused to let him go until he got better. The usual way to deal with these rough people is to give them their money and let them go, but not so with Dr. Holmes, the disciple of Him who cannot and will not forget even a cup of cold water given in His name. This was quite new to me, and the like of it I had not seen before. Then his anxiety over Samuel his servant who was left behind ill at Bidjar, his frequent telegrams and dispatch of medicines, etc., gave me a little insight into the character of the man.

"I had not the privilege of studying under Dr. Holmes as others did, but years afterward came much in contact with him and was much benefited by watching his patient inquiries into the condition of his patients and their circumstances, his sympathy and gentleness, and how he won the confidence of his patients and was ready to help in season and out of season in spite of ill health to which he was a subject. Whenever I met him alone or in the company of one or two of his students he was ready to impart to us something to do us good. He knew how raw and inexperienced we were. He would not lose the opportunity to do us good. He would tell us of his experiences, his mistakes, and how he had learnt good lessons from those mistakes.

"He was not an American gentleman only but a Persian nobleman also, esteemed by the Crown Prince and the Shah of Persia, who obtained the order of the Lion and the Sun and was honored by statesmen of Persia. Afterwards when I came in contact with the people at the Court and made the acquaintance of Princes and Princesses and noblemen, I was cheered to see from the Prime Minister down to the 'carpet spreaders' and at the Harem from the Princesses down to the maids who had seen and been treated by 'the wonderful man', the Dr. Holmes, all remembered him with affection and spoke well of him.

I had heard how much the Ameer Alla'd Din, one of the most learned and intelligent noblemen of the Western Persia, loved 'the Hakim Sahib.' A few years after the death of 'the beloved physician' it fell to my lot to be invited and attend to this nobleman for a few months. It was joy to me to see how the memory of Dr. Holmes was sweet and honored by him and his family, yes, even by his servants. Whenever he spoke of him he would say, 'May God exalt his degrees', a prayer only used for a Mohammedan saint. Those who are acquainted with the Shee'ah sect of Islam know how a Christian is considered unclean and only deserves hell. They and they only can understand how much effective the life of this dear man must have been to break down these prejudices as to rank him among the saints. Once as he was speaking of 'the forgiven' or 'pardoned', 'Dr. Holmes,' I said, 'yes, though being dead yet speaketh.' This made him fetch his Arabic and Persian Bibles which he had in his library. I read to him the whole chapter of Heb. XI and touching on different, important subjects, it was encouraging to see tears running down his cheeks. One day in speaking of mistakes in administering drugs I told the Ameer how once towards the close of his useful life Dr. Holmes found he had made a mistake in one of his prescriptions. After that he prescribed for no one lest his memory be failing or not competent. The Ameer sighed deeply and said, 'My friend, when compared with Dr. H. we find ourselves like rubbish.' The learned always in attendance told me, 'I have heard the Ameer say "among the great men which I have come in contact I have seen no one equal Dr. Holmes".'

'A very pious and learned priest at Hamadan once told me, 'It is God who gives us rain and sends us sunshine too, and among His gifts to us He also has given us the Dr. Holmes.'

'Although he was the Hakim Sahib, yes, and more, yet the spirit of Sahibism which is such a barrier between the foreign missionary and his native brother had not spoilt him. He was so free from the racial pride and haughtiness of caste. He was ready at any time to listen patiently and humbly and learn from his native brethren, and to encourage them would own, 'I was helped by your word' or 'by your letter', etc.

"Nothing can be more touching and at the same time instructive than the devotion of Dr. Holmes to the work God had given him to do. How he loved the few medical students whom he was laboring with untired devotedness to bring up as Christian men and to help them to live honestly and nobly before men. Those who remember what degradation the Jewish community of Hamadan was in thirty years ago can judge better what the missionary labor and teaching, especially Dr. Holmes' efforts, has done for and through his medical class, and how his influence and teaching has elevated these young men and literally 'has raised up the poor out of the dust and lifted up the beggar from the dunghill to set them among princes and to make them inherit the throne of glory.' Owing to Mrs. Holmes' failing health the doctor had to leave and accompany her as far as London on her way back to the States. The doctor who never was strong had an attack of influenza in London which brought him very low. He consulted the well-known Dr. Yeo who told him his work was finished and he ought not to think of active work again. Yet this dear servant of the Lord who was yearning over the growth and welfare of his pupils in Persia in spite of everything gave up all the comforts of home and help which civilization can give to a feeble frame, took the journey, returned alone to Persia and helped the young men to finish their course and introduced them to the public at Hamadan as qualified men. What he did and endured for the sake of his pupils has over and over reminded me of the words of the great inspired Apostle of the Gentiles 'and I will very gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved! II Cor. XII:15.

"I well remember how delighted he was over any spiritual and medical progress which any of his pupils showed. He seemed to say, 'Now to live if you stand fast in the Lord.' I Thes. III:8

"What a rebuke his labor of love to the heartless easygoing worldly who enjoying all the comforts of civilization, leaning in his comfortable chair and criticising the missionary, knows nothing about the joy of following Him, who 'though He was rich, yet for your sake He became poor that ye through His poverty might be rich.' II Cor. VIII:9. Yes, the beloved Dr. Holmes practically knew what it means, 'Blessed be God, even the Father of our

Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God. For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ. And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation.' IICor. I:3,4,5,6. And in practice, with a weak body, to those he meant to do them good, he did plainly say, 'Death worketh in us but life in you.' II Cor. IV:12.

"It is worth mentioning to show what a keen observer Dr. Holmes was and to what an extent his discerning power did prove and 'try spirits, as occasionally in private he spoke to me about the state and condition of his pupils and expressed his delight over the spiritual and temporal progress of some and deep sorrow over the slowness of some. On one occasion he was speaking to me of Mirza Moussa. 'His case,' said he, 'makes me very sad. He is a careless young man. I am not satisfied with him at all. I see traits in him which I dislike. I have been compelled to tell him more than once, "I often tremble for you. I think you are not even converted."' How remarkably the statements of this acute observer have proved themselves, for besides other unbecoming behaviour of M. Moussa, now that sixteen years have passed since the doctor told me the above words, I received a while ago a letter from Moussa claiming to be the Son of Man of Daniel VII and the man child of Rev. XII. He invited me to go to Jerusalem and embrace his claims. I noticed in him a few years ago symptoms of paranoia. The delusions of the disease must have got the upper hands over him.

"It is enough that it can be said of Dr. Holmes, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' His quiet manner (though a Lion when truth and justice were at stake), humbleness of mind, meekness of spirit, truthfulness and faithfulness, did prove to people that 'he had been with Jesus' and was a living proof that that beautiful life was pleasing unto God, which neither philosophy can show nor any other religion can produce. Whence was it imbibed how he by action and practice did put to shame any Jannes and Jambres who are imitators of the truth but denying the power thereof? Will infidelity send us a man to take his place? Truly he was an epistle of Christ read of all men. Would to

God that we who have seen such a living example could follow him as he followed Christ, and 'remember him who spoke unto us the word of God, to follow his faith, considering the end of his conversation,' and to learn that truly the secret of godliness and piety observed in his useful and effective life and in similar lives in this dark world is in believing and following the Lord Jesus Christ - 'God manifest in the flesh,' I Tim. III:16."

The last tribute is from Mr. Stocking's daughter, Mrs. A. C. Boyce of Teheran:

"The death of Dr. Holmes means much to all Persia people. Occasionally here in Teheran I meet people who knew him in Hamadan and they speak of him with so much reverence and affection. Last Summer I had a most kind letter from him and I was counting on his friendship and counsel to help over some of the hard places. I want to copy for you some good advice he wrote me in a letter in 1906, just before I came to Persia:

"You will find a beautiful language in the Persian, with a literature which you will do well to cultivate. For thus you will gain access to Persian modes of thought, and through it you will gain access to the Persian heart as in few other ways save by cultivating the spirit or love for them as individuals, in spite of the many things which will inevitably try your patience to the utmost. Don't allow yourself to be influenced by prejudice, even as against their most objectionable qualities. Study the good that is somewhere to be found in everything, study to discover and draw this out in them and build on that, for that is Christ in them, the foundation which is laid. This is wiser and better than batt ring down their false beliefs. These will fall away of themselves as the truth in Christ finds lodgment in their hearts. Study their folklore, their customs, their proverbs, which often not alone give the index to their thoughts, but often act as the latchstring to their consciences when deftly used. Few things serve better to break the ice in opening up conversation."

'How wonderfully beautifully he put it - that all the good I find in my school girls, for instance, is Christ, the foundation laid. Believing He is here already makes it infinitely easier to work for His revealing."

As he counselled others so he wrought himself. He looked ever for good and found it in others. It was of his own humility that he did not see it as all others saw it in himself. He was a good man and like his Master he passed through doing good. He was a wise man with the wisdom that comes down from God. And he had the heart of a little child. So I witness of him, who knew him and loved him.

Light and Shadow in a Great Soul

Already in Persia the eb and flow of mystical religious experience were very noticeable in this great spirit. At times all would be color and sun^{light} and bright and at^{other} times the shadow of depression and doubt would fall and he would move through a night of self-depreciation and abject humility. When he returned to America and was unable to resume active work, the mind had more time to turn in upon itself. For long seasons all would be bright and his gentle geniality of mood and joyous laughter would make every society in which he was found happier and richer for his presence. And then, for long seasons the clouds hung heavy on his mind and spirit, though even then he bravely sought to bear his burden alone and to cast no gloom on others. For all these years, however, he wrote continuously to one friend whom he loved and who loved him, and though all this correspondence was sacredly confidential while he lived it is felt to be right now to ~~show~~^{share} it as revealing the depths of his religious life and thought and as helpful to others who may have in their own souls such struggles as he knew and by God's grace was enabled to transcend.

It is with a reverent step that the reader should enter this holy place.

Hamadan, Dec. 22, 1898

"I have been greatly blessed and honored of God in being permitted to come back to Persia. This I have felt all along. But on the way I had the proof of it and that

it was the Lord who brought me back and so do I rejoice in my infirmities and glory in my weaknesses that the strength of Christ may rest upon me."

March 12, 1899

"Once you suggested my 'writing a book' with a view of seeking a solution of some of my spiritual difficulties. Thank God that is not necessary now for that purpose, but I am at work on a brief statement for the Jews with the view of making the Messiahship of Christ appear to them a reasonable doctrine, and in harmony with their own and their fathers' anticipations.

"I think of taking the point of view of a pious Jew who is looking for the consolation of Israel, or rather one who is in entire sympathy with the Jew who looks for a Deliverer who shall gather the remnant of Israel and establish them in their own land, and their King upon the throne of his father David.

"The idea of the work is to bring the testimony of the Old Testament to the Jew respecting the Messiah in such a guise as shall not at the outset arouse prejudice. With this in view I have thought of following up a line of argument I have often employed in conversation with them, which has appeared to disarm their prejudices and make them willing and desirous to hear more, viz. to identify the Messiah they are expecting with the Messiah we are expecting, leaving out of consideration for the time being the suffering Messiah,

and considering him as the Son of David, the Coming One, in whom is fulfilled all that the prophets have spoken of his glory and power. Then I go on to show how that the whole history of the Hebrew people, their institution, their laws, their temple service, their prophecies, have looked forward to this and lead up to this. I call attention to the continuity of purpose in the Divine plan, so that although the temple was destroyed and the people led into captivity, yet the prophets remained, and their utterances grew clearer and more definite as the outward symbols of their worship were taken away. I note however a very strange and remarkable break in this continuity that while for fourteen hundred years they had an almost an uninterrupted succession of theophanies, or of prophets and seers, for twenty three hundred years they have been dumb -- they, the most spiritual of all peoples of old, and unless it be the Greeks, the most intellectual, the chosen of God, with a literature such as no other nation could boast, with a record of miraculous interpositions wholly unique. Suddenly God withdrew Himself, suddenly these great singers' voices were silenced, suddenly the ringing utterances of the prophets ceased -- on what principle of interpretation of God's purposes can these things be accounted for?

I undertake then to show that there has been no such catastrophe in their history as would thus have to be accounted for; that they have not been forsaken, that they have not been left without witness of God, that they have

not been dumb, that the marvellous spiritual and intellectual power of the Jews rose to a height during that period of supposed silence, such as it had never before attained in their history, and has never before or since attained in the history of any other people.

"I then call their attention to the fact that their Messiah was to be a suffering, as well as a Conquering Messiah - deal with their various theories about this and then ask what forbids their believing that the glorified Son of David whom they and all are looking for, is the same suffering Messiah whom as yet they have never been able to account for, and who can be no other than Jesus of Nazareth, who when he came they did not recognize and who also could not be accounted for on any other theory.

"I would then endeavor to show how the whole mystery of the withdrawal of the Divine Presence is explained in Him, a Jew, who has shed more lustre on the Jewish name than all their patriarchs, prophets and Kings, and is in Himself the crowning proof that the Lord hath not cast away His people and that every promise made to them shall be fulfilled.

"I would point out in its place the effort by the Pharisees and people to fulfill the law and thus insure the coming of the Messiah, asking them how they can hope to do so now completely under present circumstances when the Pharisee, with Priesthood, and Temple, and national organization so utterly failed. that they lost all that and everything else, but their inextinguishable hope in

the promises, which has preserved them from extinction as a race. Then I would show how mistaken was their effort at reformation since they determined to reform from the outside, in utter violation of all that everyone of their prophets had taught them was the will of the Lord, that perhaps for this reason it was, that during the period while they were most assiduously building up the hedge of the law, and forgetting and refusing to think of the living spirit which alone could animate it, God withdrew from them his accus-messengers and prophets, and let them work out their plan of accomplishing a material salvation, the work of their own hands, until its inevitable result should be made manifest.

"I would incidentally bring in all the arguments possible from Scripture against Islam and Behaism showing how the latter had taken hold of the Jews and how its falsehood was demonstrated by their own Scripture and the New Testament, but avoiding any mention of Islam by name, hoping to find many readers among Mussulmans in this way and thus as it were, through the medium of parables, to make them see the falsity of their own faith.

"I would dwell on the 400 years interval between Malachi and Christ as the test of Phariseeism, of the works of the Law,- the outward form without the inward life. Before Malachi the prophets constantly reinforced the law by expounding its spirit. After Christ the Holy Spirit dwelling in the hearts of believers revealed Him constantly to them.

I have given you in the rough what is as yet but an imperfect conception and one which will probably take on a somewhat different shape as I proceed in developing it.

If you think the purpose a wise one I should be very glad for any suggestions should you have time to think it over. The idea is an outgrowth of my discussions with the Behaes, and is primarily for the purpose of showing the Jews who are not already given over to the delusion that Beha is God, and therefore that any absurd interpretation he makes of the Scriptures must be true - of showing them how very far this Gnostic heresy diverges from the truth in its ultimate development as seen from afar by their own prophets.

Hamadan, June 21, 1899

"Five times in my previous life - not counting my conversion, I have met the Lord -- twice in warning, twice in blessing, and once at Hissar on my way home from Tabriz of which I have told you, in which I learned that I should be required to accept, or at least not refuse to accept, an appointment which would be tendered me by the Shah. I have learned through these things, and through a thousand other instances of a less pronounced character, in which I have felt sure that the course of my bark was directed by an unseen pilot, to feel that the line dividing the natural and the supernatural is an imaginary one and that all nature is supernatural and all the supernatural is perfectly natural, the only requirement being that we ourselves should become

properly adjusted to our environment in order to recognize , to appreciate it in whatever form it may appeal to us. So any vision is, I believe, in one sense supernatural and in another sense, quite natural. I have suffered from the usual reaction which seems inseparable from every advance I make in the spiritual life, but I have never doubted that the Lord Jesus graciously appeared to me on that occasion, and that He in that wonderful and magnificent way answered my prayer for direction. So far, I have got no further with my book than to make a rough draft of the scheme. It may be I shall never put it on paper, but I have been marvellously encouraged within the past month or two in the hope that it's purpose was being written on the hearts of the young men who have come under my influence in Hamadan (none of them know anything of the vision.

"But I am in training by a better master than is found in books, even religious books, excepting always the Bible. Since that last only too short conversation I had with you on the life in the Spirit, your emphatic statement that to receive Christ was to receive all He had to give, has never lost its grip upon me, though the usual vacation came, during which I wrote you a letter in which my ignorance of experimental Christianity was abundantly displayed. My letter was not fairly in its way until I found reason to recant my statements in that letter, and now I am trying to make others believe the truth of what you said, as I have been convinced myself by the test of experience, since the beginning of this present month. Paul's declaration in Gal. 4, 6 that God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into my heart

crying Abba Father (dear Father) seems to me so much more tender an expression for one who does not know Syriac or Hebrew) to represent Himself there and to act for me in the petition and intercession which from my own lips seemed so constantly to fall on unwilling or heedless ears - the thought that I had no more to strive, no more to labor, but simply to yield myself to the Spirit of Jesus, whom the Father had sent to do for me this, which He knew I could not do for myself - this seems simple enough now, but never before had I been able to conceive of it except as an intellectual abstraction which was doubtless true, but of which I was wholly unable to get a real spiritual grasp. It may interest you to know that this quickened spiritual apprehension followed soon after the surrender of several things which had come to appear to me as coming under the head of doubtful things. The most difficult was to give up entirely the reading of secular newspapers, even of secular reading in the religious papers, even the reading of the telegraphic public news which we get weekly from Teheran. This did not come all at once. I yielded little by little. It was a hard pull, for from my childhood I had been deeply interested in political questions and in maturer life, in world politics, and now when it looks almost as if the axis of the world was about to be changed, to relegate one's self to a hermit cell is at least a transition. But for more than a month I have passed on newspapers and public news unopened, and I don't know whether we have beaten the Filipinos, whether Alger or Milis have come out ahead, whether the Peace Conference has met, whether Russia and England have come to an agreement in China, whether Dreyfus is

adjudged to have the right of a fair trial or not, etc, etc. etc. except as I hear them casually mentioned by others.

You may say this is an extreme measure, perhaps savoring of fanaticism. But I think it is not. It is only when the eye offends that it is to be plucked out, and I am sure my sympathies entered too deeply into most of these burning questions of the day to avoid crowding out much that Christ was ready to put into its place were there vacant room there. It was not simply the time taken up in reading of these things, it was the currents of thought set in action by them which inhibited spiritual meditation. During this thirty days I have felt that probably the Lord had a great trial for me to undergo, and this unknown and ill defined portent has troubled me more than the things I could look upon and size up. Despite all efforts to commit my way unto the Lord, and to make Him Lord of everything, known and unknown, present and future, I have found it difficult to shake off the dread of impending evil which has haunted me. But this afternoon I think I have committed it all to the Lord, and that He has accepted it, and I have in consequence a great peace.

Hamadan, Sept. 14, 1899

"I have long been expecting the fiery trial which was to try me, as made known at Varseh Nov. 27, and I feel that this will work out the "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" promised to them that are thus exercised.)

Minneapolis, Feb. 24, 1900

"My feet had almost gone, but thank God, I believe they have at last struck bottom, and are not planted firmly on the Rock. I am convinced that God has some great purpose hidden in these cataclysms in which He has, from time to time visited me. But have I not prayed to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and shall I think it strange if the fiery trial comes as a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning?" During these past days I have felt that I had been swept through and through with a tempest of fire. The Hebrews came out of the furnace without the smell of fire upon their garments. I had no garments left, after the fire had done its work on me, nor anything left, without or within. I felt that I was like a new born babe, who had everything to learn from the beginning. And so I am trying patiently to follow the leadings of the Spirit, and be taught of Him, trusting Him to give me an understanding, and that through obedience to His Will I shall come to know Christ in the knowledge of Whom is eternal life.

"Do you happen to remember a sermon of Phillips Brooks on obedience to law, in which he shows how, in order to command any physical force, one must first understand and become obedient to the law of that force, and could you tell me where I can find it? Is it not true that to be led of the Spirit in one thing, demands entire submission to the Spirit's leadership in all things, and that with this submission comes power to do all that the Spirit sees that God has planned for us to do?"

Annisquam, July 12, 1900

"It is pretty nearly all over with me. It is doubtless psychological to a large extent, but it none the less unfits me for fellowship with God or man, and for helpfulness to those who need so much the help that I only could give. I must accept what God has seen fit to send to me of suffering. If only I could suffer alone,- but that I suppose is denied to all men. It has always appeared to me to be the hardest thing I could be called upon to do, to appear to have put my hand to the plow and turned back. I must now accept this - to appear before men as having denied Christ. Did He appear in the presence of the intelligencia to have denied the Father, when He uttered that despairing cry on the Cross? Pray for me, who cannot pray for myself.

Annisquam, Aug. 16, 1900

"I have come to the conclusion that all my love of God in the past has had selfishness as its controlling motive, and that the Lord sees no other way to heal the malady but to sweep away the whole structure built upon so false a foundation, so that I may begin at last to build aright. But I cannot now expect to do more than lay the foundations of the new building, and must be content so far as the world and my fellow Christians are concerned to be looked upon as a heathen and a publican, as one who undertook to construct a large building and counted not the cost, as one who put his hand to the plow and turned back. But I have yet the hope that if my cluster adorn not the vine nor the table

yet that some of its berries may, crushed in the winepress, yield a little wine, or at least, some essence to flavor the good wine of other clusters.

Wellesley, Jan. 10, 1901

You have rendered me a service the greatest which it has ever been in the power of one man to pay to another, and I shall not attempt to thank you, for I can not do it adequately till we meet where words are not needed to express our thoughts. I have been trying to account for the effect produced by the few words you spoke while we waited at the station, for they were only such things as I was familiar with and such as I have spoken to others. Possible the fact that I was in a despairing mood, and that all things in earth and heaven seemed to be against me, and to have the mastery of me, may have made me more receptive than usual, but my only way of accounting for it is that our Lord sent you here to speak to me, that through you I might receive the Holy Ghost. For I have long recognized the truth of Paul's saying, "No man can say, Jesus is Lord but in the Holy Spirit."

I got little comfort for some time for I did not know how I could exercise my will any more strongly or more persistently than I had already done. I had indeed in this way found peace many times, but it was always the familiar words I said "I am going to act on that promise, and to accept that I am righteous - right with Christ-- for that is what I have been praying for, and if these words are true I am already right with Him. I am going to act on that assumption whether or not I am conscious of any change either emotional

dynamic." I recognized no change of any kind till Jan. 1st, when the sky began to break a little. Jan. 2nd, I began on the book which was evidently the duty that lay nearest at hand, Mirza Musa having sent me an abstract of Aga Meyer's work, and I have since put in all my spare time at this with great zest. And I have the witness of the Spirit that I am a Son of God!

I don't think it has been exactly a case of abdominal analysis though that has entered into the matter. But so far as I can understand it my sin has been in listening to the temptation with which Satan tried to deceive Christ, "If thou be the Son of God, assure thyself of the fact by exercising the power of the Son." I could not believe because I felt no consciousness of power, because with all my faith, stones refused to become bread, because the theory would not resolve itself into the fact. And I wandered forty and five years in the wilderness, because while I could believe the testimony of others that Christ desired to save me with a full salvation, I was unable to believe his own work that He had done so,- because I demanded other evidence than His own word. I think I have now struck the bed rock, and that my house will therefore not fall with the first flood that comes, as it has always done before.

Why is true faith so easy for some and so almost impossible to others? Surely I have tried to believe with all my heart for thirty years. And my life has become a monument of wasted effort during that time. But I am thankful for all that I have suffered

for myself during these years in which I have rolled the stone of Sisyphus ever up only to see it roll back crushing to ruin everything in its way, as often as the top was reached. But for the loss of others I grieve.

Wellesley, Mass. June 3, 1901

"I have always looked for intellectual enlargement to come with spiritual freedom but this is not to be till the clearer vision comes. You gave me the lift to the mountain crest behind which I had all my life been groping, and the view opened up to my new vision is so transcendent that it sometimes dazzles me, and I see men (and things) as trees walking. But as I look behind I see that my whole ideal of service for Christ, unto which I for thirty years I had sacrificed everything I have held dear, (except alas, the one thing I thought I was sacrificing - self) has been a false ideal, and that I have myself been saved as by fire, with the loss of all with which I have builded (wood, hay, stubble, all). I have learned that the pain, which I have ever longed to escape from, is yet to stay with me that I may gain the mastery over it, perhaps even to find my joy in it, as I am already finding joy in spite of it. So I am now beginning life as a little child, yet well knowing that there is not time left for developing atrophied faculties - atrophied from disuse - for service for my fellow men.

I see so clearly now, what I had at the time in part understood, a manifold meaning in the stunted spindling tree in the garden of Varseh, hardly to be recognized among the other fat and fruitful trees of the garden, and so scantily laden with undifferent fruit, and yet bearing fruit in which the Father and the Son

could take delight, and for which they were wont to resort to the garden, the fruit which had sprung from the ashes of one long past affliction to which I had never been reconciled, and in which all the fruit resulting had apparently been wrought in spite of all my resistance to the will of God in the matter. In the promise of the Lord, made with such a meaning look and smile, that he had other gardens to which one day he would take me. I at first understood another vision like the first, but soon I knew it meant more suffering, and now I know it meant through great suffering, more fruit bearing, even though the fruit be palatable to none but Christ. And so I am content, and grateful that the work begun before the foundation of the world, when I was chosen in Christ to be holy and without blemish before Him in truth, is by whatever means he has seen fit to bring it about, accomplished, and that I now truly believe.

Wellesley, Mass. July 1, 1901

"We have lately adopted the method in reading your "Studies" in the Christian Endeavor world of trying to identify the reference before looking them up. We find it adds much to the interest both in the cases where the text confirms and where it dissents from the opinion we had formed as a result of the suggestion in the "Studies." We in this way sometimes catch the light from a different angle than usual, sometimes its refraction through the cloud of our preconceived idea illuminates a previously dull and uninteresting text with prismatic color or spectral bands heightening the effect. We are going

to try studying "The Man Christ Jesus", in this way. The process is I suppose like that of reducing the light of the sun by a smoked glass, in viewing an eclipse, or rather of slowing the vibration of the ultra violet rays of the spectrum, by passing them through a solution of quinine. These rays which are thought to appear as light to the more delicately organized retinae of some of the lower animals, but all dark to ours, are translated into light rays for us by thus reducing their rate of vibration. Is it for this or a like reason, that the Holy Spirit usually exerts his influence on our hearts through the medium of one of our fellow men, rather than directly -- only those receiving of Him directly who are the elect, who are able to receive by reason of the more delicate adjustment of their spirits to His motions in them? I think so, and that this is why He sent me to speak the word that loosed me and let me go, when my petition for deliverance from Himself in person so constantly found apparently a deaf ear. Now I find myself beginning to respond more directly to His touch, and am beginning to receive from Him for others, to find the joy in intercession which was so long denied me, beginning to comprehend the meaning of Our Lord's frequent vigils, occupied in intercession, and the joy and strength they gave Him.

I am glad for what you say about Christ's personality being merged into ours in some real way. I am trying, for a long time have been trying, to get a grip of this conception in my mind which I can state in such form as not to be mistaken, innocently or willfully, for pantheism, or Sufeism, which is another term for the same thing I think.

My writing you as I did acted in some degree as a safety valve for my depression, and I am glad if it gave you no annoyance. The mists in the valley do not prevent my believing that the immovable hills are still there. I have never doubted that for thirty-one years. The trouble is that by whatever route I have endeavored to approach the hills, I have found sooner or later between them and me a great gulf fixed, fathomless and impassable. For thirty years I have forgotten everything in searching for a bridge over the chasm -- sometimes in trying to bridge it myself. Andrew Murray's book, "The Ministry of Intercession", which I read after my last return to America, led me to believe that I could build such a bridge for myself and for others by prayer - if I would only keep at it continuously enough. A pernicious book it was, to me.

The great uplift I received from you eighteen months ago, which came indeed not by any spoken words, but rather in the communication of a divine healing touch, was in the conviction that while no efforts of mine would avail to compass the chasm, it did not require to be crossed at all, that faith was all efficient to obliterate the chasm and to bring the strength of the hills home to my heart where I stood. This thought has been my stay for a year and a half, and during the present year I have sought with every faculty God has given me to let His will have free course and be glorified in me. Since I might not abound I have sought to content myself in being abased. Since I might not actively serve I have sought to glorify God while I accepted His bidding to stand and wait. But while joy does not come to

those who seek it for its own sake yet it seems to me that it must be a necessary fruit of a normal Christian life, and if after thirty one years of service its product is still only leaves, there is manifestly yet one thing lacking. I have been trying to write a book in defense of an outlying position of the Christian line of attack, in which it is incumbent on me to state what from my point of view Christianity is. I find myself in the presence of a marvellous life, and with the assurance that that life with all that pertains to it it is my privilege to realise in my own experience. That those for whom I write may attain to my point of view they must look through the lens of my own experience. I cannot borrow any neighbor's lens for that purpose - and my own falsifies the image. For though in the matter of personal character building I know that I have made definite gain. I am conscious that the one fruit of the Spirit which is magnified more than almost any other by our Lord and by his greatest apostles - joy, - has been and continues to be conspicuously absent from my life, and that so long as it is absent, the strength of the Lord must likewise fail me; I continue a weakling, What I meant in my quotation from Khayyam was that I was determined no longer to pretend to that which I had not. I ought long ago to have ceased to struggle for that which cannot come though any agony of struggle. I am trying now to be content to walk in the darkness, even in the darkness enhanced if need be, by obloquy, and to be thankful that God's will be done in me at whatever cost to myself. In this I am upheld by a great faith that all will work together

for good, for my destiny is in the hands of a God of infinite love and of infinite resource.

Now I will henceforth write no more, about myself, My health has failed very much since I received an injury from an electric car which knocked me down in January last. I probably have much suffering in store in future, but I trust the Lord will carry me through it all to the end.

Wellesley, Mass. Dec. 29, 1902

Again I appeal to you for help. I have come to the supreme crisis of my life, and the issue, if it be not a supreme faith, lies in madness. Pray for me, my dear friend, as you have never prayed before. I have been given power to pray for myself as I never could before, and so long as I can pray I feel that I am safe. But at times I cannot do this, and then the tempest in my soul is frightful. It has many times given me peace to think that Jesus is with me in the ship - even though sleeping - to "remember Jesus Christ."

The union of two believers in prayer for a common object has a fuller promise implicitly than that of one alone. Join with me in my petition. Pray that the cup may pass, or if not that I may have strength to drink it.

It is not for myself that I ask, My life is too worthless to waste a tear upon. It is for those whom God identifies with me for time and eternity that I feel concerned. For them I would be willing - perhaps glad - to have my name blotted out of the book of God's remembrance.

I have been in the abyss, but much of the time I have felt that Jesus was with me, though perhaps sleeping, while the tempest raged. I could not have believed I could suffer so and live. Is this one of the "other gardens" the Lord promised at Varseh to take me to see? I thought at the time it was to be another vision of a similar character. to that one. Within a few weeks I came to understand that the fruit must first be borne in suffering before I should be taken to see it. How much yet remains to be fulfilled, He only knows. Pray that I may not shrink from anything he calls me to undergo, and that my specific prayer of faith may be absolutely fulfilled.

Wellesley, Mass. Mar. 12, 1903

Forgive me for writing again as I did about my own woes. I have been in the mouth of hell, and despairing men forget the rights of others in their struggle for life. Don't throw me over yet! It was not because I was worthy that you became my friend, but because God so appointed it. I am unworthy of any man's friendship. Till now I have been buoyed up by the hope that I would get become worthy of something, but hope has fled, and the catastrophe, so long dreaded, waits at the threshold. Nothing can not avert its coming, but your friendship, if it may yet hold true after so long and severe a strain, may possibly postpone it for a little while.

I am coming to a clearer vision but shall I ever again dare to believe that I have an anchor that will not drag in a gale. I do not know whether it was intended that my chief occupation in life should be the delineation of my own frontiers. This appears to be all I have accomplished at any rate, but it has been pretty effectually done and I am appalled to discover how narrow a circle circumscribes my total endowment, mental, moral, and spiritual & appalled to see how poor a creature it is whom God is trying to make something out of.

I never before quite understood our Lord's meaning in telling His disciples not to rejoice because the devils were subject to them, but to rejoice that their own names were written in heaven. The marvel is there - that I have any share in so great a deliverance and I feel thankful to have a crumb that falls from a true disciple's table. I think I am effectually cured of the hope or desire to cast out devils, I shall be thankful enough to be a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord and to serve those that enter therein, is sufficient cause for thankfulness and joy.

Wellesley, Feb. 16, 1903

Since you were here I have been much of the time in the confines of the "City of Dreadful Night" and looking any time to be drawn into its vortex.

It is becoming clear to me that there was a world more of meaning to that remark of the Lord's as He dismissed

me that day at Varseh than I have ever comprehended, and that my ministry,- the only ministry I have had or am to have, is suffering. I have never known any real joy in life, not even in my early childhood, that was not so evanescent as to be practically illusory. I have never been really adjusted to my environment, and now that my memory has so completely failed me, this becomes acutely accentuated. But I never forget the painful things, except when to have remembered them would have saved me from others more painful. I understand what such conditions inevitably lead to, and that only the joy of the Lord can save me from the abyss of settled melancholia. If religious experience is independent, as you say, of temperament, would you go so far as to say that faith can conquer melancholia - the difference being only one of degree? I do not suffer only from imaginary ills- there is always a real one of grave import on the horizon ready to culminate when the last one has set, so I am never without a reason for being depressed. When the joy of the Lord comes, as sometimes it does, I realize the expulsive power of the new affection, and think nothing of my ills. But oh, how brief and infrequent are such experiences.

And yet I feel that the idea you have suggested has taken a real grip upon my mind, and is leading to something which, though I cannot call it joy, is yet suggestive of a state of exaltation of a higher order than the joy of the physical sense which I, at least, have known, higher perhaps than any

experience I have had of the joy of the Lord, higher in this, that it would seem to have a higher sanction, a source less open to question and therefore more vital - than the joy which has its physical basis in the vascular condition of the solar plexus. I am theorizing only at present, there is not yet enough of reality in it to do more but I have a "larger hope" than before, and certainly it has helped me over some very rough places.

Wellesley, June 3rd, 1903

Mrs. Holmes and I enjoyed very much the reading of Prof. Beecher's article, which is very reasonable and convincing. And yet, to accept as much as Prof. Beecher has accepted of the "modern view" of the Scriptures, must not one have radically changed his point of view? How far then will he be able to reject what the new perspective discloses? It is a perilous time for men whose faith in Christ depends solely on external evidence -- where the witness of the word is not confirmed by the witness of the spirit in the heart.

There is no more place for me among the ranks of the workers, and I should never dare to assume responsibility for the treatment of sickness. I have performed my little part on the world's stage and the curtain is rung down for me. Thirty three years ago I set out in quest of the Holy Grail - in search of personal fellowship with Christ. I closed my Shakespeare, my Ruskin, my Huxley and Gray and Dana, determined to make my Bible and books interpreting the Bible, my sole study, outside of absolutely necessary professional

reading till I knew the Scriptures, and through them, the Christ. These earlier treasures have remained closed, but I have not learned the Scriptures, and, as a personal abiding presence, such as I have felt He must be to me, and such as the Scriptures seemed to represent Him, I do not know the Christ. I staked my power for good in the world on this conception of Him, as a possibility for any sincere believer to realize - and I have lost! That the cause is in myself, does not as I see help the matter. James's melancholic recognized his own madness, but that did not give him sanity - and, whatever his previous responsibility, anyone would accept his present plea, that he "could not help being crazy." I know that self is at the bottom of my malady, but for a third of a century I have, with ever growing intensity, and with agonizing prayer and endeavor, sought deliverance from self. I have now followed my appointed path till it has led me over the precipice, down into, and through, the abyss of fire. I have emerged, even though maimed, not indeed into the midst of the everlasting hills, but at least into a habitable valley on the farther side of the gulf, and so much nearer my goal. I have seen myself in my nakedness, and now I in part understand. The stony place, with its shallow covering of soil, is not appointed to bring forth thirty, sixty, a hundred fold but rather to a long succession of springtime greenness and summer blight, till the rocky substratum is disintegrated, and the way prepared for other sowers and other reaping. I am trying to be thankful, to have any place in God's plan, but negation, even negation

of self, is a sterile soil to cultivate, if there be no eternal affirmation to complement it. The house may be empty, swept and garnished, but if it be not filled with Christ, it will yet be filled with something.

I have given up the miserable attempt to write the book, though with it I must surrender all that gave meaning to the "vision". But for the supposed "call", the undertaking was grotesque at the outset. But the long awaited message has not come to be delivered - the witness of the Spirit to the words which, thus unconfirmed, are but an idle tale. I cannot honestly testify in terms of another's experience, to that to which the Spirit has not borne witness, in my own heart, much as I may believe it and wish to have others believe it.

This is the last reference I shall make I hope, to anyone, to my spiritual life. If I may be permitted to look at Christ, I hope, even though the vision be obscure, to be delivered from looking at my own soul. I hope I may succeed in not thinking at all about it. How I can help this if I study the old texts, shut up as I am to myself, I do not know. Could I lose myself in ministering to the suffering poor, could I identify myself with Christ in service to his little ones, I would be glad to cleanse the sores of the Persian lepers sitting in the dust by the roadside. But all the activities of Christ's ministry, are shut up to me, and the Spirit gives me no warrant to pray for those I cannot serve in the flesh. I can only quiet myself as a child that is weaned of its

mother, for I have exercised myself in great matters, in things too high for me.

Boonton, July 23, 1907

The book "God and the Soul", which I return to you by same mail is remarkable for the lucidity of its statements of philosophical principles. You will not indorse all the author says in the latter part of the book, and yet Emerson's dictum, properly qualified, must be true, that the test of an inspired utterance is that it inspires us. If I fulfill the conditions imposed upon me by the Scriptures in my readings, and then am not inspired, it cannot in the nature of things be an inspired book to me at the time, however much I may believe that it inspires others, and desire that it may inspire me. I may have faith, but do not have inspiration, strength, spiritual life. And heartily as I have believed all my life in the position of the author that the natural faculties that the natural faculties which God has given us in which to mirror his divine nature were sufficient to enable us to respond to his appeals to our consciousness, I am coming more and more to the conviction that Gladstone and the older theologians were right, and the author is wrong, and that the higher reaches of spiritual life at any rate, are reserved for those whom Paul designates as "the elect."

It is a feast of fat things which this author spreads before us, but it is not one to which he permits me to sit down. For he says (p.166) that "the strength for a noble

moral life which religion gives lies in the bestowal of a Companion, a Friend, on the lonely soul of man" and (p.177) "that we may enter into actual (conscious) communion with God (as Person) in prayer, drawing from that communion peace, gladness and moral strength". The words in parenthesis are the authors, though they are not found in the sentence quoted. And the thought is his as they are the words and the thought of all who have written of the deeper life of the Spirit. Lyman Abbott, in a recent editorial, (Outlook 13 July) calls on us to hear the words God is speaking "in every mystic consciousness of a transcendent presence communing with us in ^{an} inexpressible fellowship". I cannot see how Christ's own oft repeated words can be interpreted in any other sense than that conscious communion is the privilege of any one who will come to him. The author so interprets it and he assumes that the consciousness of every man who accepts the gracious invitation will verify it. But what he assumes and Lyman Abbott assumes as a fact of experience, my own consciousness refuses its assent to, for to my experience it is not a fact of consciousness. Yet I have, so far as I know fulfilled the conditions, at least during the past eighteen months, to the very utmost limit of the powers, intellectual and spiritual, which God has given me. The quest of the Barmecide was not refreshed by assuming the reality of the forms he underwent of eating savory dishes, and my strong faith that I was really experiencing spiritual realities which my consciousness for some reason failed to recognize, has not resulted in any noticeable accession of

spiritual strength. On the contrary, I have constantly been in a state of semi-starvation and have seldom had anything to divide with anyone else.

I have always been taught to look upon the experience of the true Christian as something very different from what has proved to be my own. I find it so characterized in the Christian Scriptures, and by every pulpit and prayer meeting utterance. The promises are conditional, so far as I understand them, on faith alone and repentance without regard to merit. Surely I have no claim if merit is the condition, but I understand the Gospel to be based on Christ as the basis of the Christian's faith and not any worthiness in himself. If, during the past eighteen months I have not believed, then I confess my inability to believe. My experiences have in the past taken a pretty broad range. For three or four years in my early life I was wholly without faith in a future life. The pendulum has never swung so far back since then, but when, that winter in California, I found the ground cut under my feet, I had grave doubts whether it held out any hope for me. When faith returned it was based on the testimony of the reason rather than of the emotions, it was based on the conviction that the nature of things demanded a Savior and that without Christ God's personality was undemonstratable, and that without a personal God there was no real sanction for righteousness. I compelled my will to accept what my longings, my unappeasable longings, cried out for, but I presume my longings were more for companionship than for righteousness, that I sought for

solace perhaps rather than for something higher. But during these eighteen months I have sought to the uttermost to be unselfish in my service to Christ. I have thought of Christ as being more than all his gifts, as being more than the sum of all his attributes, as possessing a personality which transcended anything that we have power to conceive of, and into relation with which it was only possible for us to enter by faith.

I don't know what the "ego" is which so strongly dominated my will. I only know that it was dominated and held to its work by some power within me in spite of the daily recurring consciousness that prayer and delight or help in God's word were denied me. At last the will, or the ego which gave direction to the will, seems to have exhausted itself in further effort, and become paralysed. The rod which comforts is not, to the consciousness, the same thing as the rod which scourges.

Yet I would not be understood as insisting that Christ must on a priori considerations reveal Himself to my spiritual consciousness. As I said, once before, He may have the best of reasons for standing in the shadow while keeping watch above His own. Till the bar is crossed the pilot may wisely keep his face invisible. This may be wise and it may be loving, and it may be (an invisible) companionship. But I cannot understand how it can be a fulfillment of the promises in the Gospel and how it can be in accord with the claims put forth in the book and throughout all Christian literature for the spiritual life. The only inference to be drawn therefore is that such as I are still in the gall of bitterness (which is clear enough)

and in the bond of iniquity, or else, which I prefer to believe, that the elect constitute a higher order of believers to whom are committed the blessings of personal companionship with the Master and thereby the privilege of speaking in his name with power to others.

Is the author scientific in saying that the argument for physical and spiritual experience is "exactly the same." Science takes account of all the facts. Now physical tests give uniform results, and I can unify those of my neighbor, as that the sun is in the heavens, etc. But spiritual tests do not give uniform results, in the same sense as in the physical world. Only a very small fraction of mankind fail to see the sun, if the will to do so exists. But to how tremendous a proportion of these who long for spiritual vision is the gift denied.

Boonton, N. J. May 23, 1908

I want you also to know that light has come to me on some of the dark problems about which I have from time to time sought your counsel, and on which your help has been so valuable and so highly appreciated.

There is much yet on which I must wait for further light. Why the Scriptures should be still, to so large an extent a closed book to me as a help to devotional exercise, why supplication for others should so quickly become a mentally fatiguing, instead of an exhilarating exercise, I do not know. I must be content to wait on the Spirit's times, and the Spirit's methods of instruction, and to be used according to the Spirit's purpose.

Aug. 23, 1909

Now I want to tell you of a great joy that has come into my life. Yesterday in clearing up some old papers, I found a letter of yours, written five years ago, in reply to one of my ready-to-halt letters. In it you tell of your prayers for me that that experience might pass away, "to be succeeded by an even better and more tranquil realization than I have ever known before of the peace and love of God." I am glad to tell you that your prayer has been answered, and that for two months I have enjoyed a "tranquil realization of fellowship with Christ such as I have never experienced before save for the briefest periods and at long intervals. I rejoice now with fear and trembling remembering my many disappointments and yet I do rejoice with great joy. Before the answer came I was subjected to a fearful temptation, a temptation to deny Christ and turn my back upon Him. It seemed to have been the final effort of the tempter, and I was given grace to cast myself wholly on Christ. He had never before crowded me into quite so close quarters. It was the desperateness of the temptation that revealed to me Christ's power to give aid in the strengthening of my faith. And now I can ask all things, feeling I am accepted in the Beloved, and that He delighteth to give more than I can ask or think of asking. But in prayer I am but a little child learning my a b c's, Forty years literally have I wandered in the wilderness, only now have I crossed the Jordan to the Promised Land. Is not this one of the "other gardens",

in which I had the promise eleven years ago at Varseh that
I should walk with my Lord?

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

When Christ was crucified on Calvary Judea had been for seventy years a Roman province, and the people had been familiar, for two generations, with the stories of the heathen worship and idolatrous orgies of their conquerors in the cities which they had built, such as Caesarea, Tiberias, &c., and in the cities outside Jerusalem, which they had occupied. And there were a good many who were familiar with the Greek and Roman philosophies by which these idolatrous systems were upheld, an idol worship which, from the time of Alexander the Great, three hundred and sixty years before, had gained over many of the Jews, particularly the hangers on of the courts and camps. These defended their idolatries on the ground that all religion was one, as God was one, one Essence, of which all religions were manifestations. All things in nature and humanity were also manifestations of the Essence, and were therefore properly objects of worship. Love was a manifestation of the Essence, and love was worshipped by a symbol having the form of the goddess of love. So other manifestations were worshipped through symbols. An idol was nothing in itself, it was only a symbol of the manifestation that was the real object of the worship. Jehovah, ^{Hellenists or Greek Jew.} said these apostates, was a conception of the Jews; he was therefore a manifestation of the Essence; Baal was a conception, in an earlier day, of the Canaanites, and was likewise a manifestation of the Essence. Both were proper objects of worship, Jehovah by the Jews, and Baal by the Canaanites.

None of these questions disturbed the minds of Christ's Disciples. They had been faithful observers of the law of Moses, and the worship of any God but Jehovah was abhorrent to their minds. They had been accustomed to think of God as the Father of the children of Abraham, who had revealed himself to the fathers, and to Moses and the prophets. He was a beneficent God, who gave good gifts and had revealed himself to them in the works of nature and of providence to all men, even the unthankful and the evil, and he desired that men should love him and obey him. But he was too great and too pure to admit sinful men into his presence. No man might see his face and live. Even Moses, to whom God spoke face to face, was not permitted to behold his full glory, lest it destroy him. In all these manifestations of his will God had revealed himself, revealed his might his greatness and glory, his will, his goodness.

They had been for three years under the Master's instruction, and they had learned much from him about God. He had taught to call him not alone the Father of Israel, but the Father of all the human race, and not only that but that he was the personal Father of each one of them, to whom they could go as to their earthly fathers, with their petitions. They had learned to think of their Master as

being in a special sense a Son of their heavenly Father, *but he had been put to death and all their hopes in him were dashed* and in his resurrection and ascension, and in the ministry to them of the Holy Spirit, bringing to their remembrance the words of the Master, now so much more full of meaning, it began to dawn upon them that they, these Galilean fisherman, were the recipients of a revelation from God greater than any that had been made to Abraham, or to Moses, or David, or Isaiah, a revelation not only greater in degree, but wholly different in kind. The Ma

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

The Master beloved with whom they had companied so familiarly was indeed, they now saw, the Son of God in a much higher and truer sense than they had conceived of. They now ~~now~~ understood that him whom they had known on earth they would know as the same person, in heaven, yea, they would know him as the same still on earth, for had he not promised before leaving them that he would be with them always, even unto the end of the world? They were familiar with the fact that ~~God had called Israel his son~~ because *Israel was called the son of God* ~~because~~ *God* had chosen Israel for making known his name to the world, but they ~~saw~~ *came to believe* that Christ was the Son of God because he was the same in substance with God. And with this they realized that the revelation he had made must be wholly different in character from all previous revelation, and this became the foundation on which *the Church of Christ* ~~their faith~~ was established. *as it seemed to them was*

The Central fact of Christianity, therefore, ~~is~~ *is* the self-revelation of God to men in Christ Jesus. What Christianity affirms with the strongest possible emphasis is this, that in Christ Jesus God reveals himself, not simply certain things about himself; and that for man to know Christ is for him to know God, not simply to know certain things about God. Christianity affirms that while Christ's body was human and temporal, his person, at once human and divine, is eternal, and that the personal fellowships which his disciples enjoyed with him on earth will never, through all eternity suffer any change, will never become a relation that is not a definitely personal one. In his personal presence, therefore, as God, not in the bounties he

self-revelation in Christ that the transcendent unmanifested God, the personal Father Almighty, the source of all things, and the personal Spirit, immanent in all things, are one with the personal Son, the manifested God who trod with his disciples the dusty high-ways of Galilee, the man Christ Jesus.

The self-revelation of God in Christ is not limited to the brief period of his earthly ministry, nor is it limited to any subsequent period of the world's history. Until the fulness of time should come the Son could not come to reveal the Father, and until the Son came the Spirit could not come to bear witness to him. But since the Day of Pentecost* it has been the office of the Spirit to keep fresh in the minds and hearts of believers the life of Christ in whom the Father is ever revealed. * Acts 2:1

Christ came to reveal the Father; the purpose of that revelation was to reconcile the world to God. # The reason why the world needed to be reconciled # 2 Cor 5:19
to God was that on account of sin it was estranged from God, --
-
Christianity therefore declares that sin is a real thing, a hateful thing in the eyes of God, and one so destructive to his children that even the sacrifice on the cross of the Son of God was not thought a sacrifice too great for the purpose of saving men from its power. It is man, not God who is unwilling to be reconciled, it is God, not man, who is seeking to bring about a reconciliation. In Christ, therefore, God is revealed, not as a principle of goodness, not as a law,

BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

INTRODUCTION.

I

My dear Friends:

You have frequently asked me to give you my conclusions concerning the questions ^hat were under consideration in the discussion we had, years ago, with the author of the "Istidlaliyeh," and our other Bahai friends ~~there~~ in Hamadan. I have been very slow in responding to your request for several reasons, one of them being that I did not feel that I understood Bahaism well enough to justify me in attempting to formulate my conclusions for the benefit of others. Since I returned to America a number of books and pamphlets have been published in English by Bahai writers, the latest and by far the most authoritative of which is the book recently issued ^{in London}, entitled "Some Answered Questions," translated by Laura Clifford Barney. This consists of a series of questions presented to Abbas Effendi by the author during several prolonged visits to Acca, questions relating to points of doctrine, with their answers by the present head of the Bahai faith. These answers are, in most cases, given at length, and with a good deal of detail and illustration, and they clear up many points which had been heretofore left in considerable obscurity. The time has come therefore, for a review of the Bahai body of doctrine in the light of the revealed truths of the Christian religion, and as no one else of the many who are so much better prepared have undertaken this, I will endeavor to do this to the best of my ability.

It has always been my desire in the discussion of religious questions, ^{however much I have been asked to undertake it} to avoid anything that savors of the spirit of controversy. To get the better of an opponent in an argument,

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BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY
INTRODUCTION

character of Bahaiism, and as to the tendencies inherent in the system, which will one day, I believe, develop an antagonism to the cross of Christ more bitter and unrelenting than any that has been recorded in history. ^{But} But that should not embitter us, as followers of Christ, against the Bahai, nor against him who sits in the place of Baha Ullah. Rather should it make us more earnest in our efforts to win them to Christ who loves them and seeks their salvation as he has sought ours, under the shadow of the cross. If a realization of the full meaning of Bahaiism to the world shall spur us to more earnest and more faithful prayer for those who are entangled in its sophistries, if it shall lead those who have named the name of Christ to seek more earnestly that their own lives shall be a continual witness to the Christ life, a witness to the power of Christ to reproduce his image in humanity, then my purpose will have been accomplished. Not in a spirit of antagonism, but in the spirit of ^{love - the spirit of Christ,} Christ, in Christian courtesy and gentleness, ^{good} are the ~~best~~ tidings of great joy acceptably proclaimed.

In seeking for a statement of the Christian doctrine of God to place beside the Bahai doctrine given on page . . . I can find nothing better suited to the case than these words of Dr. Chas. Guthbert Hall, spoken to a large audience of learned Indians in Calcutta: "The two foundation principles on which Christianity rests its appeal to the individual life are its belief in God and its belief in man; that is to say, it believes in God as self-conscious, absolutely self determining, infinite Personality; it believes in man as self-conscious, relatively self-determining, finite personality. It relates God to man by a method of thought that suffuses like a luminous atmosphere every part of the system of Christian belief; a method that is a unique blending of three philosophical conceptions. Christianity is not satisfied with the dualistic doctrine of a transcendent God, which would separate him from the world and, by placing him on a throne in the heavens, would give him an apparent exaltation, which upon reflection is seen to be actual limitation. Yet, out of that which is above all knowledge or imagination, Christianity takes up into its idea of God an element of essential truth never to be surrendered. Nor is it satisfied with the doctrine of an immanent, indwelling God, present in matter and in mind, coextensive with the universe; for the immanence that is without transcendence may become undistinguishable from a mere property of the universe; limiting God in the very act of thought that seeks, and intends to affirm, infinity. Yet out of immanence Christianity takes up into its idea of God a truth that fills the whole earth with the fullness of Him that filleth all in all. Nor is it satisfied with pure monism--monism that recognizes only Absolute Being and denies the reality of all individualistic distinctions. For Christianity believes in man as truly as it believes in God: in man as the self-fulfilment not to be denied."

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believes in God; in man as the self-fulfilment, not the limitation of God; in man as possessing that inherent finite self, through which and with which the absolute Self finds perfect expression; in man as from God and of God, yet separate and inviolable in the rights and responsibilities of real, finite selfhood. Nevertheless, out of monism, Christianity takes up into its idea of God an element of essential truth never to be surrendered; an element that has interpreted Deity and sanctified humanity.